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LOUISIANA—THE EXIGENCY OF THE HOUR.

The President, in a message to the Senate* accompanied with official correspondence, reports, and telegrams, has given to Congress and the public a full, clear, and reliable report of the condition of affairs in Louisiana. In all his past connection, up to the present date, with the serious and difficult problem of reconstruction, it will be admitted by every impartial critic that he has faithfully discharged his duty in the premises. He has now reached the limit of his authority and appeals to Congress to adopt measures for the complete restoration of order and harmony, and guarantees to that body a faithful execution of such laws as in their judgment may be deemed necessary to be enacted for that purpose.

In five weeks more the Forty-third Congress will be brought to a close. Already the condition of the South, and especially that of Louisiana, has been fully discussed. Will the Republican members allow the remaining time to be frittered away in useless debate without decisive action? This is the aim of the Opposition, and will continue to be their effort until the 4th of March; if there is not statesmanship and force enough in Congress among the friends of law and order to decide at once upon a policy, and by proper and prompt legislation empower the Executive to carry out their instructions.

The present is a critical period in national affairs. All unnecessary excitement by in-

flammatory speeches and newspaper comments should be avoided. Moderation and firmness among the true friends of the Union, in Congress and throughout the length and breadth of the land, should be exercised. In nine cases out of ten the acts of the President are denounced by the Opposition on purely political grounds, without the slightest regard to the facts in the case. But he has never yet swerved from the line of duty, and will not now, by the denunciations of Democratic State Governors, resolutions by Democratic State Legislatures, or the entire chorus of the Opposition in Congress. There is statesmanship and nerve enough in Congress to meet the emergency successfully and promptly, as the finance question was finally met and disposed of, and we need not doubt that the effort will be fully sustained by every good Republican and true Democrat throughout the country.

The first duty of the Government, under all circumstances, is the protection of life and property. Under the present state of feeling in the South, encouraged by the Democratic and so-called "independent" press in the North, this can be done, for the present, only by the presence of an army, and if the forces already stationed in the rebellious States is inadequate to the emergency, let it be increased even if the general army should require to be augmented for that purpose. Without safety to life and security to property there can be no hope for peace or prosperity.

*See Appendix.

The next duty in the present case will be to restore and guard the ballot-box in its purity, and to protect each qualified voter, without regard to color, in the full exercise of his elective franchise. Wherever the State Legislatures have failed in this duty, the obligation falls upon Congress to interfere in behalf of the oppressed and ostracised, and to authorize the presence of the military power wherever it becomes necessary.

The third duty of the Government should, we think, be provision for an effective system of popular education, in which all classes will be reached by free schools in which they can receive a good English education. The appropriation of the receipts from the sale of public lands for this purpose is very generally advocated by the friends of popular education; and, under judicious legislation, the fund—some three million dollars per annum—or a certain portion of it, with the balance placed on interest as a reserve fund, would go directly to build school-houses and provide teachers in the different States. The distribution would be made on the ratio of illiteracy, and this would bring the main portion of the fund to the South, and into those States there in which it is most needed. These schools will be free to all, and those who fail to use them will themselves be the sufferers. The absentees would not be numerous, and would grow less each year until the attendance would become general.

The next duty to the South would be liberal appropriations for public improvements by deepening the mouth of the Mississippi and securing its levees against periodical inundations, by assisting pecuniarily in securing increased facilities by canal and railway for the quick and cheap transportation of the cotton crop and other agricultural products; and, by offering increased inducements to immigration, and to the employment of capital in erecting cotton and other factories in each of those States. The question of liberal appropriations for public improvements is now under consideration, to follow the restoration of peace and harmony.

These measures, judiciously inaugurated and carried out, would bring to the people of that section of the Union—

1. SECURITY TO LIFE AND PROPERTY.
2. RESPECT FOR PERSONAL RIGHTS.
3. FREEDOM OF OPINION.
4. POPULAR EDUCATION.
5. UNIVERSAL INDUSTRY.
6. GENERAL PROSPERITY.

This will not all be accomplished in a day, but it is *practicable*, and its commencement and progress to a successful issue cannot be delayed without hazard to life and property in those States, and serious injury to the best interests of the entire country. Will the people of this distracted portion of the Union yield to the claims of humanity and their own material interests, forget the past, and unite with the Federal and State Governments in persistent efforts to promote the common good? Then there will be no longer any use for the military power in the South; peace and prosperity will then be the common lot of all, and ere long those States will become the most attractive, densely populated, and wealthiest portions of the Union.

MILITARY DESPOTISM.—Preventing the White Leagues of the State of Louisiana from seizing the State Legislature is called by the Democrats military despotism. Styling a secret organization, whose members have been guilty of crimes that make humanity blush, as banditti, is denounced by those in sympathy with their work as military despotism. Protecting life and property in New Orleans from an armed mob, thirsting to destroy both, is called military despotism. Upholding the right of the majority to govern, as guaranteed by the constitution of the State and the nation, is called military despotism. Well, gentlemen of the White League fraternity, let us have a little of this kind of despotism for a while. You have had your military despotism in defiance of law about long enough; let the Government try its hand for a time. No good citizen need fear its authority, but the ruffians, who have had a carnival of crime during the past year, have good cause to tremble or travel. The American people are too intelligent to mistake the suppression of organized ruffianism for military despotism. The White Leagues of Louisiana may make such a mistake, but their victims will not.

THE NEW FINANCE BILL.

The new bill to provide for the resumption of specie payment has passed the Senate and the House, received the signature of the President, and become a law. It was opposed in both branches of Congress by the entire vote of the Democratic members with the same unanimous persistency that the full chorus of Democratic voices are now opposing the new movement for peace, order, and security to life and property in the rebellious States.

We have accepted the bill as a good one from the day of its introduction in the Senate. We have done this on the ground that it meets the present and prospective condition of our finances, and will accomplish what it contemplates.

The bill is in three sections, the first of which is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations, or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the subtreasuries, public depositaries, and post offices of the United States; and, upon such issue, he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency, until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

The opponents of the measure claim that the silver specie will be exported about as fast as it is coined. There appears to us to be no tangible basis for this conclusion. In the first place, every independent nationality prefers its own specie for local circulation. Prior to the war, when silver coin was in circulation in the United States, our 25 cent coin was worth only 24 cents in the Dominion of Canada, and subsequently it was reduced to 20 cents. A similar practice of depreciation prevails in nearly every commercial center with reference to the silver coin of foreign Powers. It is, therefore,

evident that, practically, for export, silver coin is of little or no value above the current price of silver bullion. As the latter is now at a premium of less than two per cent. above our fractional currency, and as the cost of shipment in commissions, freight, insurance, &c., will usually exceed two per cent., the chances for speculative profits in the export of silver coin are altogether too small to render the operation at all probable. Possibly the South American republics may take one or two million dollars of our silver coin; but beyond that, it could not be disposed of but as bullion, and in that form it cannot pay the expenses of export and leave a margin of profit to the operators. But even if eight or ten million dollars of United States silver coin should leave the country, most of it, in the natural course of trade, would find its way back again. It is worth more, as we have shown, at home than elsewhere, and in making specie remittances from one country to another, the coin of the country to which the remittance is going is always preferred and secured whenever it can be obtained. But suppose again that eight or ten million dollars in silver specie should be carried and kept permanently out of the United States, its absence would cause no inconvenience. We have \$48,000,000 in fractional currency in circulation, which the bill proposes to have converted into ten, twenty-five, and fifty cent coin pieces. Does the business of the country require that amount? A plethora of silver is a serious inconvenience, and not unfrequently occurs in commercial experience. It has occurred repeatedly in our own country. Fifty million dollars in fractional currency can be employed without inconvenience, because its compactness and inconsiderable weight are such that five or ten dollars of it in a pocket causes no inconvenience, while that amount in silver would be an intolerable burden. Pocketbooks would avoid all over a dollar or two in silver, and select bank bills of small denominations for every-day use. Beyond this, the silver coin would lie in merchants' counter-drawers, and in safes and

banks. Still, the conversion of fractional currency into silver coin is an excellent provision of the bill. Fractional paper is liable to be lost or destroyed; and the actual loss to the people from this source alone averages to about four per cent. per annum of the entire circulation, amounting in the aggregate to a formidable sum. The United States Treasury may be benefited by this loss to the public; but the constant wear and consequent demand for new issues is a heavy expense to the Government. So that the proposition to dispense altogether with fractional currency and substitute silver is a judicious measure, and one that cannot fail to be duly appreciated by the public generally—including the Democratic chorus of grumblers.

The second section of the bill is as follows:

SEC. 2. That so much of section three thousand five hundred and twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one-fifth of one per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed, and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

This simply removes the charge for coining gold from the owners of the same, and transfers the cost of coinage to the Government. The object, we presume, is to raise the coining value of gold and induce a larger coinage by American mints. At present large amounts of gold leave the country in the form of bullion, to be coined elsewhere. The effect of the act is intended to, and probably will, intercept a considerable portion of this bullion, and convert it into coin. In this form less of it would leave the country, and of the portion exported larger amounts would be likely to return in the form of commercial remittances. The South American and other adjacent governments would also, under the new arrangement of free coinage, send a portion, at least, of their gold to United States mints to be coined, and not without more or less benefit to the country in which it is coined. The coinage value of gold under the provisions of this section being slightly greater than in some other of the principal commercial countries will, when exchange is at par, cause bullion to flow to this country.

The third and last section of the bill provides as follows:

SEC. 3. That section five thousand one hundred and seventy-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be, and is hereby, repealed; and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and the provisions of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national bank currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed. And whenever and so often as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of three hundred million of dollars, to the amount of eighty per centum of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of three hundred million dollars of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the first day of January, anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less fifty dollars. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemptions in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues, from time to time, in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell and dispose of at not less than par, in coin, either of the descriptions of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," with like qualities, privileges and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purposes aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

The limitation of the aggregate amount of national bank notes to \$354,000,000, heretofore existing, is removed. National banks may be organized to meet the actual or supposed necessities of the country, subject to the restrictions of the provisions of the national bank act. The proportion of circulation to be issued to such new organizations

will continue precisely as at present, namely: to banks not exceeding \$500,000 capital, 90 per cent. of such capital; to banks having a capital of \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, 80 per cent.; to banks having a capital of \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000, 75 per cent.; and to banks having a capital of more than \$3,000,000, 60 per cent. of such capital; such circulation to be issued in all cases upon a deposit of United States bonds, bearing interest in coin at a rate not exceeding 90 per cent. of the par value thereof.

On the wisdom of this policy there has been and may yet to some extent be a difference of opinion in the public mind. Those who oppose the measure are apprehensive that the country will be flooded with paper currency. There seems to be but a very slight basis for this conclusion. The system of national banks is entirely different from that of private or State banks. Their circulations are checked by securities, and the interests of their note-holders are so guarded that losses to those who hold their paper are impossible. With irresponsible banks this is not so. It will rarely occur that capitalists can be found to become stockholders in a national bank if the legitimate business of the locality where it is proposed to open a new bank or increase the capital of an old one does not warrant the measure. The increase of national banks and national bank circulation will be regulated by the actual demands of the country, and the cry against the Government for more currency or less paper money will be forever silenced.

Another check against a plethora of national bank paper is the provision for the resumption of specie payments, for which national banking associations, as well as the United States Treasury, must now commence to provide. Altogether this provision of the new act cannot fail to meet with popular approval.

The second provision of this section of the act requires the Secretary of the Treasury to issue eighty thousand dollars of the legal-tender United States notes for every one hundred thousand dollars of national bank notes that may be called for and issued, until the circulation of United States legal-tender notes is reduced to \$300,000,000, or until the reduction amounts to \$82,000,000, that being the

amount in circulation over the three hundred million limit.

It is asked why the redemption of United States legal-tenders is not equal to the issue of national bank notes. Well, there is no valid reason why that was not a provision of the bill. The twenty per cent. margin is simply a compromise, and it has apparently given pretty general satisfaction. But the twenty per cent. increase on eighty-two million dollars, while it seems to satisfy inflationists, cannot perceptibly affect our industrial interests in one way or another. The item is too insignificant for that, and any alarm on that score is based merely on imaginary results.

In this connection an objection is made to the bill on the ground that it does not prevent a reissue of the United States legal tenders called in on the issue of national bank notes. This was Senator Schurz's objection to the bill, though, after his speech against the bill, he very sensibly voted for its adoption. The Democratic, and so-called "independent," press have joined chorus in the cry against the bill on this point. But we confess to the conviction that this grows out of pure opposition simply for the purpose of opposition; and if it proves anything, it is that the provisions of the bill are not in any way susceptible of serious objection. Why, the very fact that the bill provides for the redemption and does not authorize the reissue of these eighty-two million of legal tenders, is in itself a law against their reissue. They are retired by law, and they cannot be put again in circulation except by act of Congress any more than a new issue of bonds or legal tenders could be made without legislative sanction. Let the Secretary of the Treasury attempt the reissue of those legally retired notes, and the question of authority would soon be decided. The argument is too absurd to be entertained, and is not thought of except as a feeble objection by the opponents of the Administration.

The third feature of this section of the act is the provision for the resumption of specie payments by the United States Treasury on the first of January, 1879—four years hence. Against this it is argued that the time is too far off, and occasionally that it is

too near. We should, other things being equal, be pleased to see specie payments at an earlier day; but we do not believe it could be safely attempted without seriously disarranging our business and industrial interests by a too precipitate shrinkage of values. Gold is now at a premium of twelve cents on the dollar. If we could by any effort put our paper currency and gold immediately on an equality, property, real and personal, would suddenly depreciate or fall in nominal value in nearly the ratio of twelve per cent., causing distress, sacrifices, and, in many cases, bankruptcy. But by extending the period for equalizing the values of gold and currency over forty eight months, an opportunity is afforded to all branches of business and industry to prepare gradually for the the fixed period of redemption. We believe the four-year period is an equitable arrangement, and the fact of fixing the time for resumption at a given period, is one of the strongest points in the bill.

The provisions of the bill to enable the United States Treasury to resume specie payment on the 1st of January, 1879, are simple and reasonably adequate. They are, first, to use the surplus revenues in the Treasury, usually from seventy-five to one hundred and twenty-five million dollars, principally gold; and secondly, to dispose of the funding bonds, bearing 5, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 4 per cent. A considerable portion of the 5 per cents are already sold; the balance, with the $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 per cents, are, or will as soon as the business of the country and of Europe revives, be in demand at par; and from these two sources there will be ample funds, it is reasonably believed, to meet the requirements of the bill.

Two or three questions occur to the general reader on examining the provisions of the bill. First. If the eighty-two million dollars are not all redeemed and the amount of legal tenders in circulation reduced to three hundred million, will the Secretary of the Treasury commence to redeem on the 1st of January, 1879? Yes, certainly, for general redemption is not contingent upon the retirement of that surplus. It is connected with the provision of the act for free banking, which simply gives to banks permission to increase

their national bank circulation wherever they believe the business of the locality demands such increase. Second. If the issue of United States legal tenders should be reduced to three hundred million dollars, before the 1st of January, 1879—say in 1877 or 1878—will the Secretary of the Treasury commence then to resume, if the condition of the Treasury should justify him in so doing? No. There is no provision in the act that would justify him in anticipating the day specified for resumption. Third. Will the national banks be prepared to resume at the date resumption by the United States Treasury is commenced? Yes, certainly, for whatever amount of specie they may require can be obtained from the Treasury for United States legal tenders which the national banks can obtain in exchange for their own bills. National bank currency will appreciate in value during the next four years in nearly the same ratio as United States legal tenders, and when the United States legal tenders are redeemed in gold the national bank currency will have appreciated to a gold basis.

THE Secretary of the Treasury has sent to the House of Representatives estimates of appropriations required to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, and prior years, as follows: State Department, \$23,764; Treasury Department, \$264,797; War Department, \$118,767; Navy Department, \$13,377; Interior Department, \$471,349; total, \$892,056. These estimates are made necessary by the recent enactment which covered all unexpended appropriations into the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year for which they were designed, whether all accounts chargeable to them had been adjusted or not.

DURING the year 1860 the exportation of cotton from the United States to Great Britain amounted to 1,115,890,608 pounds. The total importation from all other countries into Great Britain during the same year amounted to 275,048,144 pounds. During the year 1872 the United States exported to Great Britain 625,600,080 pounds of cotton. During the same year Great Britain imported from other countries 783,237,392 pounds.

THE DEMOCRATS AND EDUCATION.

"I am not only opposed to increasing the number of clerks in this Bureau, but I would be in favor of striking out the whole \$35,000—*everything pertaining to education* from the Federal standpoint."

The above is the exact language of Mr. Cox, of New York, in Congress, on December 17, respecting an increase in the appropriation for the Bureau of Education. No one disputes Mr. Cox's claims as a faithful representative of the Democratic party. He has been in Congress for the past sixteen years, having represented Ohio the first eight years, and since then New York. He is also re-elected to the next Congress. When Mr. Cox speaks the Democratic party speaks. In this speech Mr. Cox pledged his party to the execution of his desire, "and," said he, "it will be done by the next Congress if not by this." The abolition of everything pertaining to education from a Federal standpoint is a part of the great work—reform if you prefer—which the Democratic party intend to accomplish when they sit in authority. Think of it! Is not the proposition one that should be resisted by every parent and child in the land?

In his first formal recommendations to Congress, January 8, 1790, President Washington, among other suggestions, said:

"You will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. * * * Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aid to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients will be worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature."

In his Farewell Address to the people of the United States he commends the education of the people in the following emphatic words:

"Promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Under the approval of the immortal Washington, and by the efforts of those who

thought as he did, the General Government has nourished the lamp of knowledge in many forms. Early in its history it founded a national military school, where instruction is not only given in military science but in history, law, and political economy. Later a successful naval school has been established where the lads of the country cannot only perfect themselves in the arts of war upon the high seas, but in all the more important branches taught in our academies and colleges. Years ago the Government founded a national observatory by which we study the mysterious forces of the heavenly bodies and their effect upon this mundane sphere. The coast survey is another educational agency, and many thousands of dollars of its annual appropriations have been twice expended in observing the transit of some wandering star like Venus. Education has, also, besides the Bureau of Education, two powerful agencies in the Agricultural Department and the Patent Office. In the reports of the former, the farmers and the editors of agricultural papers find their most valuable information, and by the influence of the latter many most valuable inventions in school apparatus and furniture have been annually given to the country. Scientific research is fostered by the Smithsonian Institution, which is supported by the Government. It may not be generally known, but the General Government supports a college, complete in organization, and as ably conducted as any in the land, the only difference being that it is for the benefit of deaf mutes exclusively. The Government has also given more than a million acres of public lands for the establishment of agricultural colleges in the several States. Exploring expeditions are sent out yearly at great expense through the Western wilderness, for the sake of education. Medical science and surgery have received their most important aid in the past ten years in the scientific utilization by the Government of the slaughtered soldiers. Thousands of students visit the Government Medical Museum in this city annually, and many hun-

dred dollars have been made by speculators off a single copy of the medical report of the war by reason of its great value. The Census Bureau has hitherto told us how many illiterate people there were in the country, and by computations in the Bureau of Education we are informed that seventeen per cent. of our voters can neither read nor write. But this inquiry will, of course, be stricken from the list.

These separate lights constitute the grand luminary of education to which Mr. Cox has pledged his party to apply the Democratic extinguisher. "I am in favor of striking out everything *pertaining* to education from the Federal standpoint" * * * "and it will be done by the next Congress." These are his words, and their meaning is unmistakable. Will the people submit? Shall we follow the lead of this degenerate politician, or hold fast to the doctrine of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and the whole line of illustrious teachers down to Horace Mann and Agassiz? Ignorance yields more Democratic voters than intelligence. Perhaps the Democratic leaders hope that some day the ignorant freedman may forget the

lash and chain of slavery, and swell the Democratic vote by voting with ignorant Democrats, and to this end they seek to strike down the Bureau of Education as the first great barrier in their way.

But the teachers of the country will not join with them. They have already declared that the Bureau of Education is to them what the lighthouse on our rocky coast are to the mariner. Mr. Henderson, State Superintendent of Kentucky, says the reports of the Commissioner, General Eaton, are worth the cost of the Bureau. Mr. Hopkins, of Indiana, who recently passed to his long home, joined with Messrs. Newell, of Maryland, and Rufner, of Virginia, last winter, as the highest educational officers in their respective States, in asking Congress to render the Bureau a liberal support. The teachers of the great State of Missouri have done the same, and so have the New York and Indiana teachers. We could cite the action and expressions of Republican States and teachers, but we have only attempted to show in this the grand column of educational institutions and agencies upon which Mr. Cox has let loose the Democratic cyclone.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

MEETING OF CONGRESS.

When Congress met on the 7th of December, 1874, gloom was upon the land. The affairs of the country were full of perplexity and distress. The state of the finances, the lack of general confidence, the stagnation of business, the thousands thrown out of employment, the suffering in many parts of the country from famine, fire, and flood, the deplorable condition of many of the Southern States, the conflicting views and interests of the people and their leaders in different sections and among different classes, the charges of violence and fraud and bribery and corruption floating in the air, the demand for more and more investigation, and, above all, the strange and unexpected results of the late elections, all contributed to such a depression in and out of Congress as has been rarely witnessed in our history.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message of the President was the first note sounded to awake the Federal Legislature to the necessity of prompt, wise, decided action for the relief of the country, so far as it may be possible to give relief. It presented, in plain terms, the subject of the finances, a return to a specie basis, free banking, internal improvements, the troubles in the Southern States, civil service reform, the Indian policy, our foreign relations, and several other matters of great interest to the public. It is a plain, strong, document, up to the times and true to the doctrines of the Republican party. The President has fully done his duty in the premises.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS.

In the Senate, Vice President Wilson took the chair, and after some days the usual committees were designated. In the House

no material change has occurred in the organization. Several committees of investigation have been appointed, the principal of which are those in regard to the Pacific mail subsidy, the difficulties in Arkansas, and the affairs in Louisiana.

BILLS AND MEASURES PROPOSED.

Both in the Senate and the House a very large number of bills and measures of a private and public character have been introduced. But the chief subject before the Senate has been the question of finance. On this question a bill has been perfected and passed by the Senate which has gone to the House for consideration. This is about the only important measure of the first month's work. The civil rights bill, which was left over in the House from the last session, has received some attention, but the committee having it in charge have not yet called it up for final action.

Much of the time of the House has been consumed in debate on the currency. Mr. Dawes stated that the Government has now afloat among the people \$382,000,000 of its promises, which are below par; and that the vital question is, by what means these promises can be brought to par value. But the House has reached no result. Several of the regular appropriation bills have been under consideration in the House, and considerable progress has been made toward their completion.

DISTRICT AFFAIRS.

The special committee charged with the duty of providing a form of government for the District of Columbia made an early report in the Senate, which has called forth a protracted discussion. The question is still under consideration. Meanwhile the Commissioners and Board of Audit are continued. The feature of the proposal for the new government is a board of three regents, with the principle of suffrage recognized in the popular election of the Trustees of the Public Schools. What final shape may be given to the new government is yet unknown. The full debt of the District has not been ascertained, but the audit discloses the fact that it already reaches beyond twenty millions.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

Discussion has been had upon the steam-

boat laws; upon the grants made to railroad companies; upon the mining laws; upon several questions of internal improvement; upon the transportation question; upon taxation and the tariff—in all which a variety of information has been disclosed in regard to the status and the facts of these important interests.

A CONTUMACIOUS WITNESS.

Mr. Irwin, the agent of the Pacific Mail Ship Company, being called to testify in the investigation, after having disclosed the fact that he disbursed some three-quarters of a million of money in procuring the subsidy from Congress, and swearing that he paid none of it to any member of this or of the last Congress, there stopped and refused to inform the committee to whom he did pay it; whereupon the House have been engaged in a vain endeavor to compel him to tell what he knows. The spectacle is too pitiable for comment.

KING KALAKAUA.

On Friday, December 18, 1874, the King of the Hawaiian Islands was presented to both houses of Congress in the Hall of Representatives. The ceremonies were brief and simple, consisting of an address by the Speaker and the response of his Majesty, read by a member of his suite. This being the first crowned head ever pressing the soil of the Republic, and from a country raised to Christian civilization principally by the efforts of American missionaries, the incident was fraught with unusual interest.

PROVISIONS OF THE FINANCE BILL.

The provisions of the finance bill passed by the Senate are: 1st. The redemption of the fractional currency by silver coin as fast as may be practicable. 2d. Repeal of the regulation authorizing the charge of one-fifth of one per cent. for converting standard gold bullion into coin. 3d. Repeal of the present limit fixed by law to the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, with provision for an increase of circulation by banks already existing, and for the establishment of other banks under the like provisions. 4th. Providing that the Secretary of the Treasury, in issuing circulating notes to such banks, shall redeem eighty per cent. of the legal tenders *pro rata* until the

aggregate sum of such legal tenders shall be reduced to \$300,000,000; and providing further, that on and after the 1st of January, 1879, he shall redeem in coin such outstanding legal-tender notes as may be presented to the Treasury of the United States for such redemption. 5th. To enable him to do this he is authorized to use any surplus revenues, or to sell the bonds of the United States at not less than par, and for coin. If the House of Representatives pass this bill, it is likely soon to become a law. We think it is a movement in the right direction. The holiday recess has, however, suspended all Congressional legislation.

SINCE THE RECESS.

Congress reassembled on the 5th instant. Already telegrams from New Orleans announced to the country a new outbreak of trouble. Before, however, the real facts could be known to the public at Washington, and while the popular excitement rose like a whirlwind, Senator Thurman introduced a resolution of inquiry in the Senate, which has given rise to a debate of the most exciting character, and which, with the exception of the miscellaneous business of the daily morning hour, has entirely absorbed the attention of the Senate. For the first two or three days the time was occupied chiefly on the opposition, or Democratic, side of the chamber, the Republicans scarcely taking any formal or concerted part. But the most energetic language and the most emphatic denunciation of the Administration and of the Republican party was listened to by crowded audiences from day to day, Messrs. Thurman, Bogy, Hamilton, of Maryland, Bayard, and Gordon taking the lead in this protracted declamation. At length the resolution of Senator Thurman, considerably modified, was passed. Meantime Senator Schurz introduced another proposition instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire and bring in a bill in regard to the state of affairs in Louisiana, on which he made a lengthy and elaborately-prepared speech, which, as it was wholly condemnatory of the policy of reconstruction, has only intensified the excitement of the debate. Senator Howe followed him on the Republican side; when, on the 13th instant, the

Message of the President relating to the recent occurrences in Louisiana was received with accompanying documents. Then Senator Logan took the floor, and for two days rolled back the tide upon the Democrats with a giant's power. This speech of Senator Logan is thought by many to be the most effective and finest effort of his forensic life. It struck the key-note of the Republican advance, and carried consternation into the ranks of the opposition on every side. Senator Thurman left the chamber, and was no longer visible in his seat. One after another he met the champions of Democracy, Hamilton, Gordon, Bayard, and the rest, and wilted them before him. Senator Tipton followed with an ill-timed, leering, and malignant speech; and then Senator Frelinghuysen took the floor and paid his respects to the gentlemen of the opposition in a masterly argument, which they will find it hard to answer. There is now an advance along the whole line of the contending forces, but the country is waiting to hear from Senator Conkling in reply to Mr. Schurz. Before this matter is over the subject will be ventilated not much, we predict, to the satisfaction of the gentlemen who were so eager to begin the fray. The Message of the President is most admirable, and has united the Republicans in solid column in Congress and throughout the country. It is well for such times as these that we have General Grant at the head of our national affairs.

IN THE HOUSE.

Much of the time has been taken up in the House by miscellaneous matters. The recalcitrant witness, Irwin, has been sent to jail. Other witnesses, like Abert and Shumacker, have escaped under technical pleas of advocate and client, but enough of testimony as to the funds squandered in procuring the Pacific Mail subsidy has leaked out to show that thousands and thousands of dollars were paid to the immaculate agents of the independent and subsidized press—such pure patriots as manage public opinion out of only a sincere love of the country.

The House has made some progress in the regular bills of appropriation, and has considered a great variety of subjects without coming to any definite result. It has, how-

ever, passed the Senate finance bill, which, having received the signature of the President, has now become a law. The special subjects still before the House are the appropriation bills, the reports of several committees of investigation still to be forthcoming, the bill of civil rights, and the great questions involved in the present demand for some positive and effectual measure of Congress for the adjustment of the serious troubles existing in several of the Southern

States. The work of the present Congress is, much of it, still in uncertainty, and there are left but little over forty working days of the session. But as time presses the difficulties of legislation appear to multiply and augment. Can it be that the opposition are seeking, by dilatory movements and by interposing insurmountable obstacles, to force upon the administration and the country an immediate extra session of the coming Congress?

NOTES ON TRANSPORTATION.

Senator Windom's very able report on transportation opens the whole subject of internal improvements, and the Government's relations thereto, reviving the discussions of the past, and giving fresh interest to old facts.

As early as in the reign of Queen Anne the colonial government of New York was agitated by the same question that now troubles Congress and many State Legislatures. It was then voted to appropriate eight hundred dollars to build a road to the "West."

From that day to this people have divided as to the right of the Government to engage in works to facilitate transportation.

The people of the United States (says the author of "Notes on New York") have little lust of conquest and but a moderate degree of military ambition. Physical improvement—increasing interior communications for the exchange of supplies and provision for the public defense—are the objects now demanding our attention—works necessary for the maintenance of intimate political and social relations. The progress of civilization is always indicated by the condition of those interior communications. The destiny of our country seems to have been opened to the mind of Washington with wonderful clearness. He saw that, although the settlements of the United States had been clustering on the Atlantic coast during almost two centuries, yet the region, far more extensive, fertile, and salubrious, which lay beyond the proper borders of the thirteen States would become the home of the larger

portion of the American people; and if the natural barriers between that region and the East should remain unchanged the West would, at no distant period, refuse political connection with the maritime States; but if those barriers could be surmounted by roads and pierced by canals connecting the inland lakes and rivers with tidewater, the wealth and population of the whole country would be vastly increased; ample provision would be made for defending every part of our extended borders; and the States, new and old, would be bound "in an indissoluble union of interest and affection."

In 1783, when Washington had proceeded up the difficult navigation of the Mohawk river, in the State of New York, to Fort Stanwix, now the village of Rome, and had crossed to Wood creek, which flows into Oneida lake, and thence had descended to the sources of the Susquehanna, he gave expression to this glowing thought: "Taking a contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of the United States, I could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it, and with the goodness of that Providence who had dealt His favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom to improve them."

Ideas like these soon afterward engaged the attention of philanthropic minds throughout the States; and it was perceived that, in thus improving the inland navigation of the continent, the route of communication would become an object of zealous competition.

The ocean, receiving homage through the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, the Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, the Hudson, and the St. Lawrence, seemed to invite, through those various channels, the accomplishment of the stupendous object. The comprehensive sagacity of Washington, as early as 1784, marked out a plan for securing to Virginia the trade of the regions in the vicinity of the lakes by connections with the James river. The repose of the Father of his Country was occupied with plans of internal improvement; and he did not deem it derogatory to his fame or patriotism to be the president of a canal company after having worn the highest honors of the Republic.

The same year Christopher Colles, in New York, submitted a plan to the Legislature of communication with the lakes by the route of the Mohawk. In 1800 Gouverneur Morris first suggested the idea of a continuous canal, with a uniform declension and without locks, from Lake Erie to the Hudson. In 1807 Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, in pursuance of a recommendation made by President Jefferson, reported a plan that embraced in one grand and comprehensive view, nearly without exception, all the works which have since been executed or attempted by the several States of the Union. In 1812 DeWitt Clinton submitted his plan of the Erie canal to President Madison and Congress. From 1812 to 1815 the country was burdened with a war, and internal improvements were postponed. The history of the Erie canal is familiar to all; and the example of Clinton is ever a fit study for statesmen.

In April, 1850, Mr. Seward said in the Senate: "I do not know, but I trust that the day is far distant when we shall have occasion for any road for the purposes of military defense; but we can all see that the time may come, and we know not how soon it may be, when all our public roads may be required for military purposes." What was said in 1850 may be repeated in 1875.

Progressive physical improvement, comprehending the North as well as the South, the East, and the West, opening every necessary channel and disclosing every re-

source which Nature has bestowed, is emphatically the policy of our Government.

It is well to remember that the experience of human government affords not a solitary instance in which a State or nation became impoverished or subjected to an irredeemable debt by works of internal improvement. Ambition, revenge, and lust for extended territory, have been the only causes of those calamities.

It is worthy of remark that none of the distinguished founders of American liberty stopped to calculate the question of revenue when they recommended a policy of internal improvements designed to increase the prosperity and cement the union of the States. The distinction between internal improvements and measures of public defense, upon the ground that the former cannot as rightfully be carried on with the revenues of the State, or with the use of its credit, as the latter, is a refinement of modern times. Had it been then understood, as now asserted, that internal improvement is a departure from the legitimate power of government, the improvement of roads and rivers at the public expense would not subsequently have obtained an equal place with the promotion of public education in the Executive recommendations of Washington and Jefferson.*

THE NATIONAL.—This is the title of a new magazine published in this city, the first number of which is on our table. It is devoted to "Literature, Art, and Science." Such a magazine issued from the nation's capital will find favor, and has long been a desideratum. While those who wish to study politics will read the REPUBLIC, a large class will seek the *National* for its peculiar departments of literature. Its terms are \$4 per annum; two copies for \$7; three for \$10. Address J. Bradley Adams, Washington, D. C.

THE dependence of England on other countries may be judged from the fact that during the five years from 1868 to 1872 she imported 174,559,362 bushels of corn and 391,592,114 bushels of wheat. In 1872 her importation of wheat was estimated to be about 48 per cent. of her annual consumption.

*Governor Seward's messages.

CIVIL RIGHTS OR PEONAGE.

Peonage is another term for slavery, and practically means slave bondage. This system of peonage is the mode now being adopted to reduce the colored race as near as possible to their former condition. At the session of last winter of the Legislature of Texas the House, composed of Democrats, passed the following peonage act:

AN ACT to provide for the employment of prisoners and convicts of misdemeanors and petty offenses.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas, that whenever any person is hereafter convicted of a misdemeanor or any petty offense by any of the courts of this State and as a punishment therefor is to be imprisoned in the county jail of any county, it shall be lawful for the presiding justice of such county to employ such convict to labor upon the public buildings or works of the county during the whole term of his imprisonment, or any part thereof; or said presiding justice may hire out such convict to labor, either by private or public contract, to any responsible person who will hire him and pay the highest price for such services: provided, that no convict shall be hired for a less amount than fifty cents per day.

SEC. 2. That the presiding justice is also authorized to employ in like manner the labor of all convicts who may be under the sentence of imprisonment for the non-payment of a fine imposed by any court of this State for the commission of a misdemeanor or petty offense, for which the convict shall receive a credit of one dollar per day for each day's work on any public buildings, roads, or other public county works, and when the fine and costs are paid by him with such labor he shall be discharged from imprisonment, unless he is held for some other offense: provided, that if there is no necessity for the labor of such convict at any public works of the county, the presiding justice shall hire out such convict, either by private or public contract, to any person who will pay the fine and all costs and take such convict to labor.

SEC. 3. All persons confined in jail on a charge of having committed a misdemeanor or petty offense may be employed in like manner from the time of imprisonment until the time of trial; and if, upon trial, such person shall be acquitted, he shall be paid not less than twenty-five cents nor more than one dollar per day, as the presiding justice

may contract: provided, that before trial and conviction no person shall be held to labor without his consent.

SEC. 4. If any person who is hired out under the provisions of this act shall escape from the person to whom he is hired, it shall be lawful for the sheriff or any constable of any county in the State to capture and return such convict to the person from whom he escaped, when an affidavit is made before any person authorized to administer oaths that such person is an escaped convict. All the labor done by any escaped convict shall be forfeited to his employer, and should he be captured and brought back he shall recommence his term of labor and continue until the expiration of the full time of the contract made by the said justice.

SEC. 5. All the money that may be realized under the provisions of this act shall be paid into the county treasury as other county funds.

SEC. 6. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith be, and the same are hereby, repealed, and that this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The House passed the act and sent it to the Senate. It passed the Senate with some technical amendment, which sent it back to the House, where, like the civil rights bill of Congress, it was laid on the Speaker's desk and went over to the next session for want of time.

An examination of the bill will convince the reader that its thinly disguised object is slavery—slavery for the negro now, and ultimately for helpless white wretches, too—for that is its spirit. Read: "Whenever any person is hereafter convicted of a misdemeanor or any petty offense by any of the courts of this State, and as a punishment therefor is to be imprisoned in the county jail of any county, it shall be lawful for the presiding justice of such county to employ such convict," &c. How easy to trump up a charge, or impose a fine; and then away goes human liberty! Provision is even made for enslaving the poor wretches before trial. It is stated that labor prior to trial shall be optional with the prisoner, but rather than suffer starvation in a loathsome prison—which would be the practical alternative—he will gladly go out as a slave to labor at 25 cents

a day—the sum allowed by the act—and he will labor on for months, perhaps years, before he has a trial. And the result of the trial when it comes will only be to send him back again to penal service. God help the poor negro!

THE NEED OF MODERATION.—There is one consideration that ought not to be lost sight of in the present public exigency, and that is the effect at the South of intemperate and unmeasured criticism of the Government here at the North. The public mind in the Southern States is in a condition which it is not easy to realize by those who have been brought up under the much greater freedom of discussion that has always prevailed in the free States of the Union. How many times have the Southern people been misled by the surface expression of politicians in this section of the country? That was notoriously the case in 1861, when Franklin Pierce and a few such Democratic leaders diffused the impression among the secession conspirators that the first attempt to resist the South would lead to bloodshed in the cities of the North. Intelligent Southern men have learned something since that day, but the masses of their neighbors are still in an inflamed and distorted state of mind which renders them the prey of a rash or unscrupulous press. When they hear that well-known newspapers at the North are condemning General Grant's administration, they are not apt to inquire as to the precise limits of the condemnation; they take it as total and complete, as meaning the same thing as the justification of all that has been done by the President's enemies at the South, and as implying a readiness to support the latter. Every Northern man, of course, knows better than this, but the training, temperament, and facilities for forming a sound judgment of the Southern people are quite different, and the evil effects of their exposure to error are lamentable. That this danger exists let us show by a glance at the Southern press as it has already arrayed itself on this Louisiana question.

The Atlanta (Ga.) News, remarking, in reference to a compilation of Northern press utterances, that "of the so-called 'Republi-

can' press not a single paper is quoted in defense of the Administration," proceeds to say:

"To confront the danger which threatens the country—to kill Caesarism before Caesar can cross the Rubicon—we believe it necessary to *repel force with force*. If the people of Louisiana take up arms and drive Sheridan into the Mississippi river *an overwhelming majority of the American people will justify the act.*"

The Macon, Ga., Messenger says:

"This Louisiana iniquity has now progressed to the opening of the Seventh Seal, and is destined to shake the country with intense agitation. The powers of tyranny and civil freedom will come to a *death grapple* over it, and either one or the other must go down like Lucifer."

From the Memphis Appeal:

"New Orleans has been as fatal to him (Sheridan) as to Beast Butler, the spoon thief. Hereafter he will be known as Superserviceable Liar Sheridan, to be continued in the army only until a Democratic Congress shall order him before a committee, presided over by Senator Gordon, to whom he shall surrender his commission as a disgraced soldier, with the ineffaceable brand of 'liar' burned to his very heart."

From the Baltimore Sunday Telegram:

"O God! omnipotent, may the instigators and sustainers of this unholy crusade upon the liberties of Louisiana fall beneath the wrath of our nation as stubble before fire."

The Shreveport Times says that the Federal forces in Louisiana were placed at the disposal of "an unscrupulous scoundrel," adding:

"We need scarcely say that such a thing has never before occurred in the history of this Government, and should subject Grant to impeachment and summary ejection from the position he has so long disgraced."

The St. Louis Dispatch calls General Sheridan "a low squat swash," with other epithets to match; while the Memphis Avalanche says of his course in Louisiana:

"It smacks of the ferocity of the hyena. Caligula never displayed a more blood-thirsty spirit. The records of the Bloody Assizes that won the immortality of infamy for Jeffreys show that even James II and his judicial bloodhound regarded the bare forms of law."

The Memphis Appeal says:

"If there is any independence left in the present Congress, it will see to this immediately upon its assembling on Monday next, and cite both Sheridan and De Trobriand, and, if necessary, bring Grant to the bar of the House to answer for a crime against the

nation that we are at a loss to account for, unless it is that he consented to it at a moment when yet in a maudlin condition from one of his beastly debauches."

This is enough in all conscience. We have only gone into these quotations to the above extent in order to show the extremely serious character of the emergency and what influences are rife at the South, which may, with indiscretion, be dangerously inflamed and aggravated by the press and public men of the North. We are not required to suppress any honest disapproval of wrong conduct on the part of officials, but we are required to measure our words, and to guard against ministering to Southern excitement by reckless and sweeping denunciations which the masses of our people do not approve and will not sustain.—*Boston Journal*.

THE RETIRING SENATORS.—The following is a list of the Senators whose terms expire March 4, and, as far as elected, the names of their successors :

State.	Terms expire Mar. 3, '75.	For succeeding term.
California ...	Hager.....	NEWTON BOOTH.
Conn.....	Buckingham ...	Wm. W. Eaton.
Delaware.....	Bayard.....	T. F. Bayard.
Florida.....	Gilbert.....	
Indiana.....	Pratt.....	
Maine.....	Hamlin.....	
Maryland.....	Hamilton.....	W. P. Whyte.
Mass.....	Washburn.....	H. L. Dawes.
Michigan.....	Chandler.....	
Minnesota.....	Ramsey.....	
Mississippi.....	Pease.....	B. K. Bruce, c.
Missouri.....	Schurz.....	F. M. Cockrill.
Nebraska.....	Tipton.....	
Nevada.....	Stewart.....	Wm. Sharon.
New Jersey.....	Stockton.....	
New York.....	FENTON.....	Francis Kernan.
Ohio.....	Thurman.....	A. G. Thurman.
Penna.....	Scott.....	W. A. Wallace.
R. Island.....	Sprague.....	
Tennessee.....	Brownlow.....	
Texas.....	Flanagan.....	Saml. B. Mazey.
Vermont.....	Edmunds.....	G. F. Edmunds.
Virginia.....	Lewis.....	R. E. Withers.
W. Virginia.....	Boreman.....	
Wisconsin.....	Carpenter.....	

Terms expire: Republicans, (in Roman,) 17; Democrats, (in *italic*,) 5; Independents, (in SMALL CAPS,) 3.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE.—Under this caption the *Boston Journal* presents the following important thoughts and suggestions :

This issue, which the Democrats of the Lower House of Congress seem determined to force upon the Republicans is a very different one from any presented by military interference in New Orleans. It is the strict logical climax of that series of measures in behalf of equal rights which has reconstructed and regenerated the Government of the United States. It may be said that this final measure is not needed. Then it will do no harm. If that pretense were true, however, if equality of rights on the part of all races and colors had already become so far realized that there was no occasion for passing a civil rights law, we never should see the Democratic Congressmen shouting themselves hoarse in parliamentary filibustering to stave off a vote on the question. They know, as all the rest of the country knows, that the communities are numerous in which the rights of the colored man are not much more than they were when he was a slave. He is crowded to the wall socially; he is intimidated from the exercise of his political rights, and if he is beaten or murdered, there is no redress. If this state of things were wholly exceptional, or if it were rapidly passing away, the Government might forbear to interpose trusting to the development of sound local and popular influences.

The trouble is, however, that the tendency in many quarters, instead of improving, actually seems to be growing worse. At all events, the fears of the colored people are on the increase, and they call earnestly for further legal protection by the General Government. Their prayer ought to be heard and heeded. Even taking the low Democratic standard of the matter there is deep anxiety on one side and only unreasonable prejudice on the other. If the Civil Rights bill does the colored population no good it need do nobody else any harm. It can be drawn so as to work no sudden revolution in social customs and not to interfere with any man's enjoyment of essential rights. We believe that such is the character of the House Judiciary bill. In the matter of schools—wherein it principally differs from the Senate bill, now on the House table—it simply provides that all citizens are to enjoy equal educational facilities. If the respective States see fit to furnish these in separate schools for white and black children, well and good; otherwise, the blacks shall not be excluded from the school-houses supported in part by their taxes. If the Democrats wish to make an issue on this principle—and the other features of the Civil Rights bill are equally reasonable and fair—the Republicans ought to be ready to go to the country with

them. The love of justice and equity inherent in the American people as a body will leave no doubt of the result. Even those Republicans who look only to political results at the South ought not to hesitate. If it be true, as sometimes alleged, that the mere introduction of the Civil Rights bill has lost us the white vote of the Southern States, do we now want to lose the colored vote, also, by abandoning it? We trust that the Republicans of Congress are equal to this occasion.

RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH.—The aggregate and varied resources of the South are superior to those of any other section of the country. In the Cotton States there is an area of 506,740,960 million acres of fertile land, only 55,601,124 acres of which are under cultivation. On all this broad area is a soil adapted not only to the great staple products of wheat, corn, vegetables, and fruit, but it is also peculiarly fitted for the unlimited production of those great sources of wealth, cotton, rice, and tobacco, and tropical fruits and vegetables.

In addition to this combination of exclusive sources of wealth these States enjoy also peculiar facilities for building up an extensive home and foreign commerce. From Delaware to Texas, inclusive, there is a range of eleven States, with an Atlantic and Gulf water base 2,500 miles in extent, while all the other seaboard States have only 600 miles of seacoast. The South has a series of magnificent rivers, including the majestic Mississippi, and these, with their numerous harbors, are open the year round, while many of those in the North are ice-bound during the winter months.

The commerce of the South knows no check from frost or ice-bound rivers, harbors, and coasts; its soil is never frozen, and two crops in the year from the same soil may be raised with greater certainty than one crop in many of the Eastern and Northwestern States.

THE PRESIDENT ON FINANCE.—President Grant evidently does not forget the great honor which came to him from his inflation veto, for he directs the attention of the country from Louisiana to finance in a brief, but important message, which we print elsewhere. The points of this document deserve serious consideration. The aim of the President to

bring currency to par in 1879 is a noble one, and will invoke the earnest sympathy of the country. He proposes a plan for resumption which will receive wide attention. He suggests the coining of metal coin in the Mississippi Valley—a wise measure and no doubt acceptable to the residents in those States, especially as the saving in the transportation of specie from the East will be an advantage to the country and to the residents.—*New York Herald*, Jan. 15.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—That excellent and earnest man, Governor Chamberlain, seems to give general satisfaction to all parties, and that because his great aim is to do justice to all and develop the resources of the State. The *News and Journal*, (Democratic,) of Charleston, S. C., January 13, has the following editorial on the Governor's message:

"*A Cheering Message.*—We print to-day the special message sent by Governor Chamberlain to the General Assembly upon its reassembling yesterday. The message is warmly praised by both Conservatives and Republicans in Columbia; and well it may be, for we can say of this message, what we could not say of any previous message, that it contains not a single recommendation which is not, in the main, wise, prudent, and just. And the tone of the message is as healthy as its policy is sound. Our Republican Governor tells the General Assembly in plain words that in South Carolina the Constitution shall be the highest law, and he places on record before the people the manly declaration that, whenever the necessities of any political party shall require him to disregard or abuse the public trusts, his allegiance to that party will cease. There is a world of cheer and comfort in these words. There is reason for hopefulness and for confidence. And we say, once more, to Governor Chamberlain that, so long as he maintains his present position—so long as he stands on the high plane of his inaugural address and special message—the honest people of all classes will sustain him and strengthen him, not as Conservatives or as Republicans, but as citizens of South Carolina, having one and the same interest in the present and the future of the State."

The aggregate capital of the railroads of the United States in 1872 was estimated to be \$3,159,423,057, and their gross revenues, \$473,241,055.

THE DESPOT OF TO-DAY.*

[There is but one power in America which stands in no fear of the open discussions of the daily newspaper press; that power is the Despot of To-day, the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Readers of this article will readily understand why it is impossible, even for the most courageous editors of influential newspapers, to discuss with freedom the subject here considered.

They will understand, also, why, after five Congressional reports in favor of a Government telegraph service, it has, thus far, not been taken up for serious consideration in Congress.

All the more is it necessary for those organs of opinion which are not under the control of a censorship to state the important facts, which are themselves arguments, which will compel the change advocated in this article.

Every business man in America, excepting the conductors of the newspapers, has it in his power to do something to carry into effect the reform which will bring this country up to the same facilities for the transmission of intelligence as those enjoyed in every other civilized country in the world.

A man may send from the Land's End, in Cornwall, to Kirkwall, in Scotland, (over a distance of seven hundred miles,) a telegraphic message at the rate of a cent a word.

But to send a dispatch from Boston to Chicago, a man pays twelve and a half cents a word.

In that contrast alone is the argument on this monopoly condensed.

To present in the briefest possible statement the essential facts on this subject, we have requested a careful student of it to prepare the paper which is now before our readers. It is a paper which will not be widely copied by the leading newspapers. None the less will the conductors of those journals be glad to read it. This is a case where the Lion is in a net, and the Mouse must gnaw its meshes. When he is free, as he will be one day, he will tell us what he thought of his entanglement.—*Eds. Old and New.*]

The first telegraphic line ever constructed was that between Washington and Baltimore, built by an appropriation made by Congress on the application of Professor Morse. Very little was then known of electricity in our country; and, after the completion of the lines, Professor Morse was sent abroad by the Post Office Department, at its expense, to perfect himself in electro-magnetism. The experiment of constructing and operating a telegraphic line, which private capitalists would not undertake, was performed at the public expense, as a part of the postal service; and not until the fact was proved that correspondence could be carried on by telegraph did private capitalists come forward to carry on the work.

It was early known that the electric current must pass from the positive pole of the battery, through the transmitting instrument, along the line wire, to the receiving instrument, and thence return to the negative pole of the battery, at the starting point, in order to complete the circuit. It was supposed that two wires were necessary for this purpose—one for the outgoing, and the other for the return current; and the line between Washington and Baltimore was constructed accordingly. Through the breakage of one of the wires it was accidentally discovered that a single wire was sufficient, and that, when both ends of the line were connected with the ground, the earth became a better conductor for the return current than any wire.

Many years ago the German electricians noticed that two messages could be transmitted over a single wire simultaneously. Very many experiments have been made to utilize this discovery; but it is only within two or three years past that the difficulties, which appeared insurmountable, have been overcome by American electricians. On many wires in different parts of our own country and Great Britain the double transmitter of Mr. Stearns is now in use; and messages are sent in opposite directions at the same time, and with greater rapidity than a single message is transmitted. On some long lines, as many messages are transmitted over a single wire as were sent over three wires, on the same lines two years ago. Still further experiments, within six months, have shown that four messages can be sent over a single wire as easily as two, and that local and through messages can be simultaneously transmitted. And thus, while messages are being exchanged between Boston and New York, two more can be sent on the same wire between Boston and Worcester, two between Worcester and Springfield, and two between Springfield

*From "Old and New" for January.

field and New Haven, or New York—eight messages, in all, passing over the same wire at the same time.

If the waves of sound proceeding from the human voice, or from a wind or stringed instrument, are made to strike upon a resonant surface, like the head of a drum, it will vibrate in harmony with the sound. The vibrations thus produced may be employed to open and close a telegraphic circuit; or the vibrations of the strings of a musical instrument may be employed directly for the same purpose. If the impulses thus excited are conveyed along the line wire, and received upon the strings of another musical instrument in harmony with the first, it will vibrate and sounds be heard; many different notes may thus be simultaneously transmitted. The different notes may represent the letters of the alphabet; and thus each operator can send three times as many messages an hour as by the ordinary Morse transmitter. The current produced by the vibrations of musical sounds will not interrupt the ordinary working of the line, while they add thus largely to its working capacities. Great improvements have also been made, not only in the number of messages that can be sent over a wire, but also in the rapidity of their transmission.

About eight hundred words an hour are sent by the Morse instruments; by the printing instrument, three thousand words; and in England, by Wheatstone's automatic instrument, ten thousand words an hour have been transmitted. The President's message, in December, 1873, containing twelve thousand words, was transmitted from Washington to New York in twenty minutes, by Little's automatic instrument. Fifteen hundred words have undoubtedly been transmitted between New York and Washington in a minute. Each word contains, on an average, five letters; each letter is represented, on the average, by three characters of the Morse alphabet; making twenty-two thousand five hundred characters transmitted in a minute. Each character requires a distinct pulsation; and every pulsation must pass from New York to Washington by the wire, and return through the ground, to the starting point at New York, four hundred and sixty miles. But this does not show the velocity of the current, as it is not necessary that the first impulse should reach its destination before the next starts; for many may be passing over the wire at once, just as several trains may be running over different parts of a railroad at the same time.

The Atlantic cable does not operate as ordinary land lines, but requires an interval of time to elapse between the transmission of each impulse. Only thirteen or fourteen words a minute are sent by each cable. This slowness limits the use, and increases the cost of the dispatches.

Mr. Gray has recently invented an instrument to transmit the impulses produced by waves of sound by the use of violins attached to the cable, which, it is believed, will very greatly facilitate the transmission of cable dispatches.

Formerly all messages from Boston to San Francisco were repeated by operators at eight or ten way offices; now automatic repeaters are used, which accelerate the transmission, diminish the liability of mistakes, and greatly reduce the expense. The cost of telegraphing on long lines has been so much reduced by the various inventions that have been made, and by the improved equipment, construction, and repairs of the lines, that the distance a message is transmitted, unless it requires to be repeated, bears little reference to the expense.

Mr. Orton, the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, said in a recent argument, that "it might happen that it would cost more to send a message from Wall street to the Fifth Avenue Hotel than to Chicago or New Orleans, because it might come to the main office at 145 Broadway, and there be repeated." The great increase of business has also largely reduced the expense on each message. Eight years ago comparatively little use was made of the telegraph; and nearly all messages were sent between twelve and three o'clock. Now the business is much more uniform throughout the day; and a large night business has been created by a tariff of rates one-half less than those charged by day.

In 1867 the average cost to the Western Union Telegraph Company for each message it transmitted was about 80 cents; in 1870 it was 63 cents; in 1873, 43 cents. The average rate in 1867 was \$1 20; it is now 60 cents, showing as great a reduction in rates as in the cost of doing the business. From this statement it would appear as if the public had received the full benefit of this large reduction; but though the average rate is much lower, yet the charges from New York to Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago, New Haven, Springfield, Providence, and many other large cities, are higher than in 1867, and, between all other large cities north and west of the Rocky mountains they remain unchanged; and, as three-fourths of the telegraphic business is between these places, the reductions have been of little benefit to the general public.

The company were compelled by their own interests, and by the desire for self-preservation, to make these reductions.

The rates in 1867 were irregular and arbitrary, neither in proportion to the distance, nor to the expense of transmission; being often more for a less distance than for a greater, and frequently exorbitant; thus greatly restricting the use of the telegraph.

To Oregon and California the charges were \$7 50 and \$5; they are now reduced to \$2 50, and yield larger net profits than the higher rates. The rates formerly varied in different sections of the country for the same service; were higher West than East; still higher in the South; they were only low where there was competition. A uniform system of rates, dependent upon the distance, has been established by raising some and reducing many others; making a large reduction in the average rate. That the general public have not been greatly benefited is also shown by comparing the growth of our telegraphic business with that of Europe, and with the mail service of our own country. It is now nearly thirty years since the first telegraphic lines were constructed. The development of the business for twenty years was much more rapid here than abroad; and, ten years ago, the telegraph was more used in the United States than in any other country in proportion to population. Formerly rates in Europe were much higher than here; but latterly they have been very greatly and uniformly reduced, and are now only one-half as high as they are here; while, in several countries, the number of telegrams in proportion to population is larger than with us. The normal growth of our population and of the general business of the country is much more rapid than abroad. The letter correspondence in the United States has increased during the last two years seventeen per cent. a year; in Great Britain, two and one half per cent. The telegraphic correspondence here has increased thirteen per cent. a year; there, seventeen per cent. These marked contrasts prove conclusively that while our postal service, in a measure, meets the wants of the people, the telegraphic service does not.

High rates not only limit the growth of the business, but increase the cost; for the expenses on each telegram decrease as the number increase.

Experience on this point, both at home and abroad, proves that whenever the rates have been uniformly reduced fifty per cent. at one time, the business has increased one hundred per cent., and the expenses only about fifty per cent.

It cost the Western Union Telegraph Company, in 1867, \$4,000,000 to send five million messages; in 1874, \$6,755,000 to send sixteen millions, three hundred per cent. increase of business with less than seventy-five per cent. increase of the expenses. The reduction in rates has not diminished the net profits of the company, (which are larger than ever,) for it has been made by a decrease in the expenses, due about equally to improved equipment and instruments, and to the great economy with which a large business is transacted. Eight years ago its

capital was entirely disproportioned either to the value of its property or the amount of its business. The market value of its property was then \$33 per share; it is now \$80, and is cheaper at the present than at the former price. The company was then in a position to invite competition; it can now defy it. There were then many different companies, and great inducements for the organization of new lines; now no capitalist is willing to risk his money in a competition which must inevitably end in a total loss. With the exception of one company and its connections, all others (and their name is legion) have been absorbed by the Western Union; and this solitary company has never paid a dividend, and it is asserted by the Western Union that it has never earned one. In 1867 the property held by the Western Union Telegraph Company consisted of 42,000 miles of line, and 85,000 miles of wire, represented by \$46,000,000 of capital and debt. It has now 71,000 miles of line and 178,000 miles of wire—an increase of seventy-five per cent. of line and one hundred per cent. of wire. It is easy to make an approximate estimate of the cost of this property from the reports of the company. They show that lines and wires constructed since 1866 cost \$5,000,000. At this rate the property the company owned in 1866 cost less than \$6,000,000—an excess of investments over cost of seven hundred per cent. Besides paying for its new lines and wires it has expended \$10,000,000 out of its net earnings, since 1866, in the purchase of other property; making the total cost of lines, wires, and assets \$21,000,000, represented by an investment of \$47,000,000—one hundred and twenty-five per cent. in excess of cost. In 1858 the capital of the Western Union Telegraph Company was \$385,700. It was increased by the issues of stock in the next years for the following objects from 1858 to 1866:

For Cash.....	\$167,200 00
Bonds, &c.....	146,600 00
Other objects.....	182,053 55
Stock dividends.....	17,810,146 45
Lines purchased.....	3,322,000 00
Capital in 1858.....	385,700 00
	<hr/>
	\$22,013,700 00

The stockholders received in eight years \$17,810,146 in stock, and \$4,157,242 in cash dividends. The capital was then increased by the purchase of the lines of the American Telegraph Company, and of the United States Telegraph Company. The stock of the latter had been even more liberally watered than that of the Western Union; but, as the stockholders of the American Telegraph Company had not received such large stock dividends, an issue of three shares of the Western Union

stock was made in exchange for each share of that company, to equalize the value. For the lines of these two companies \$19,149,400 of stock was issued, making \$7,000,000 of cash paid in by stockholders for \$46,000,000 of stocks and bonds issued.

Within the last eight years there has been no increase of the capital, but the bonded debt has been increased \$1,500,000 by the purchase of real estate in New York.

The net earnings of the company since 1866 have been expended—

In cash dividends	\$6,000,000
In the extension of lines as above	5,000,000
In the purchase of its own and other stock	9,000,000
	\$20,000,000

It has acquired, and now holds as assets, 72,877 shares of its own stock, (worth, at eighty per cent., \$5,830,160,) all the stock and property of the Cuba Cable Company, stocks of various other telegraphic companies, and real estate of a total value exceeding \$14,000,000. Its net earnings are seven per cent. a year on its entire debt and capital, and it has on hand available assets equal to forty-five per cent. of its outstanding capital. It has been proposed that a stock dividend should be made of this amount; and if we may judge either from the past history of the company, or from the management of its directors in other companies, there is every reason to believe that such a dividend will not long be deferred.

One of the most important functions performed by the telegraph is the transmission of news for the daily press. It has always been deemed of the greatest importance to the public weal that intelligence should be transmitted at the least possible expense. One of the chief objects our fathers had in view in establishing the Post Office Department was the diffusion of information among the people. For the same reason the postage on newspapers has always been much less than the actual cost. The telegraph seems especially fitted for the press dispatches; for a single operator can transmit the news report at the same time to the most remote and to every intermediate office on the line; and thus the daily press can be furnished with intelligence at very small expense. It is cheaper to deliver the whole report at every office than to furnish an abridged report; but, as the business is performed by a corporation, the rates are often high, and the business limited in proportion.

The transfer of the telegraph in England to the Post Office Department was followed by a great reduction in rates, and an increase of the press business, in two years, of over eighty per cent.

The English papers have a circulation equal

to 1,500,000 copies a day; our own, about 5,000,000. They receive 38,000,000 words a year; ours, 60,000,000, or, on the average for each paper, not one-half as much as the English papers. The press rates in Great Britain are uniform—25 cents for each hundred words transmitted by night, and each seventy-five words by day. The average distance of the transmission of press news is about two hundred miles. Between Washington and New York, two hundred and thirty miles, the rates for a hundred words are \$1, and twice as much to Boston, though the cost is little more than to New York. In England papers can have the exclusive use of a wire by night; when this is done, the office of publication is connected with one end of a line wire, and the other end with an office of the paper in London, over which many thousand words can be transmitted every night at a small expense.

The *London Times* has recently made such an arrangement for the use of a wire between Paris and its office in London. Thus any newspaper, at a moderate price, can obtain a full supply of news, and facilities equal to those enjoyed by any other paper.

A few years ago every journal in America relied upon its own energy and resources, and was independent of every other. Now the collection of news for all is mainly the work of two great associations—the New York Associated Press and the Western Union Telegraph Company. The New York Associated Press supplies nine-tenths of these reports. Its agents collect and transmit the news to the office of the association in New York; there it is collated and prepared for the press, and is sold to the secondary associations in the different sections of the country. These are the New England, the New York State, the Western, the Northwestern, the Kansas and Missouri, the California and the Southern Press Associations. Each large city also has its own subordinate association. It is an invariable and fundamental rule in all these associations that no additional member shall be admitted without the consent of every other. The result is a close organization, formed of the existing leading daily papers of the country, into which no new associate is easily admitted. A few years ago the present proprietors of the New York *Sun* desired to found a newspaper in New York. Realizing the absolute necessity of having the Associated Press news, and unable to obtain it in any other way they were forced to buy the *Sun*, and pay for it \$150,000, although the paper had been losing money for its former proprietors, and its sole value was the right to the Associated Press news.

A large number of new journals have been started in different cities within a few years past, some of them managed with great ability, and sold at a reduced price; yet very few

of them have obtained permanent position and influence. But not only is the same report furnished to papers in the same section, but any member that obtains reports from other sources must, if required, share them with all the others. A few years ago there were disturbances in a neighboring State, which lasted many days. A journal, dissatisfied with the meagre reports of the Associated Press, secured a telegraphic correspondent of its own, and published full reports in its columns. It was at once notified by the Associated Press that it must furnish advance copies of these private telegrams to the other papers, or give up the Associated Press news. It was, of course, compelled to accede to this command. During the Abyssinian war the New York *Herald* sent a special correspondent to the war. At last a battle was fought, and the telegrams of its correspondent gave the first news of the victory both in London and New York. The mere cost of telegraphing was a few hundred dollars; the cost of obtaining it, as many thousands: yet each journal had a right to this news on paying its share of the actual cost of telegraphing. The reports are made up by the New York Associated Press for each section, to meet the demands of that particular market. Editors may disapprove of the character of the reports, which may convey sentiments opposed to their interests, or which, in their opinion, are injurious to the public; yet they are not allowed to criticise them. Thus the *Index*, of Petersburg, Va., then a member of the Southern Association, criticised its reports, and was deprived of them. The agent of the Associated Press then issued a circular to its customers, explaining its action. This circular says: "The *Index* rushed into print with violent denunciations of the Associated Press, and an invocation 'to away with this humbug.' Our news service to that journal was suspended by my order. It has not been revoked, nor is it likely to be; from which you will infer that it is approved and sustained here. One of the conditions of our service is, that supposed causes of complaint shall be presented by letter to the executive committee, or general agent, in lieu of public assault. The simplest, easiest and only proper method of bringing difficulties to our notice is by private letter. What we do object to is a public attack." They set up a rule of action for themselves which they would not tolerate in another. There is not a branch of service, governmental or private, not a single officer of government nor corporation, nor any individual, public or private, that the press can not and may not attack, save the New York Associated Press.

It is said, however, that all papers entering into the association agree to its terms, and, if dissatisfied, can at any time withdraw, and obtain dispatches of the American Press As-

sociation, the rival, if we may call it so, of the Associated Press. We must explain, therefore, that the reports are of two kinds—general and commercial. The former are furnished by the Associated Press; the latter by the telegraph company; but, as the foreign commercial news is collected by the Associated Press, it can only be furnished to the papers that receive its reports. Complete reports, therefore, can only be obtained from the Associated Press. The *St. Louis Globe* was started about two years ago, relying upon the American Press Association. It obtained a fair circulation; but permanent success could not be assured without the commercial reports. They found a German paper which was entitled to the reports, and purchased its rights to them for \$40,000. Every leading journal must have full reports, both of the general and commercial news; and these can only be obtained from the Associated Press, and by compliance with whatever rules and regulations it may dictate. A refusal would be loss of telegraphic news, of readers, of advertisements and of subscribers. The choice is between submission and failure.

As full reports can be obtained only of the New York Associated Press, so there is only one corporation, the Western Union Telegraph Company, that can transmit the news. It covers the country with its network of wires. It has exclusive contracts with the Atlantic Cable Company, and owns the cable to Cuba, and, by its contract with every important railroad, enjoys unrivaled advantages. It claims that it transmits nine-tenths of all the telegrams in the country, and that the annual growth of its business exceeds the entire business of all its competitors. This corporation finds in the New York Associated Press its best customer and natural ally. The one collects, the other transmits, the news of the world. Their offices are close together; the wires of the one running into the office of the other, whence all the reports are sent forth. The Associated Press and telegraph company have each contracted with the different associations, one for furnishing the news which the other transmits, forming a double-headed monopoly. These contracts are usually terminable on a few days' notice by either party. Those with the telegraph company contain a provision that the association receiving the reports shall not use the wires of any other company for the Associated Press Reports, or even for its own special reports. In the words of one of these associations, the dispatches are furnished to it "upon very favorable terms, on account of the clause in their contract which prohibits them from encouraging or supporting any competing telegraph company."

The *Alta California*, one of the few newspapers which dared to advocate the postal telegraph, had some difficulty with the West-

ern Union Telegraph Company in regard to certain charges on its bills. On January 7, 1873, the superintendent of the telegraph company telegraphed to the office of the Western Union in New York: "The *Alta* publishing every day violent attacks, and advocating the postal telegraph. *Alta* has not paid a bill for three months." The next day the answer was returned: "Stop the *Alta's* reports." January 11 the agent at San Francisco terminated the contract, and stopped the reports, although the journal offered to pay the amount in dispute.

The telegraph company can fix its own price to each association, or to each journal in the same association. It can discriminate by raising its rates to one paper and reducing them to another, thus ruining one and favoring the other. To the San Francisco *Herald* the rates were raised from seven to fifteen cents a word, and reduced at the same time to the Associated Press of California from two and four-tenths to one and two-tenths cents to each paper. It can cut off any paper, even if connected with one of the associations. From these facts it appears that the New York Associated Press collects and distributes the reports furnished to the public; that no paper can sustain itself as a first-class daily without their reports, which it is not allowed to criticise; that they are all transmitted by the Western Union Telegraph Company; that they can be obtained from no other source; and that this company can raise or depress its prices to any paper at its will. It follows that every paper must support and uphold these two organizations. Such a power over the press has hardly been possessed by any despot or censor of the press at any time or in any country. It is not claimed that the New York Associated Press, or the Western Union Telegraph Company often exercise the power which they possess. The fact that it exists is sufficient, and, consciously or unconsciously, influences the publisher and editor of every journal dependent on their reports. The press is not free. The yoke which weighs upon it is as heavy as that which presses upon the journalists of France; and, unless it is broken, the press of America, under a republic, will be as weak and powerless as that of Paris under Napoleon. There it was the Empire: here it is an Association.

What is to be the future of the telegraph in this country, and by whom and how it shall be controlled, are questions of vital interest to the people.

We now maintain two agencies for the exchange of correspondence—the Post Office Department and the telegraph company. The office business pertaining to each is analogous, and can be performed much more economically and efficiently by one than by several. The union of the two will consider-

ably reduce the expenses of the telegraph without any corresponding increase in those of the Post Office Department. Experience shows that the normal growth of the telegraphic correspondence, at high rates, is slow, but sure and steady, and yields a larger profit than any lower rates: consequently a corporation has no inducement to reduce rates, and only lowers them when forced to do so from collateral considerations. Experience also shows that a reduction in rates of fifty per cent. increases the business one hundred per cent., with only a slight reduction of profit. The public are, therefore, greatly benefited by reduced rates; and, as the Post Office Department merely seeks to be self-sustaining, it will prefer to do a large business at a small profit, while a corporation will prefer a small business with a large profit.

Many believe that, while a union of the telegraph and postal service in Great Britain was a public benefit, such a union would not be for the public benefit in this country, because they suppose our governmental business is managed with less economy and efficiency. The statistics, however, show that our Post Office Department handles yearly more letters and newspapers than that of Great Britain, and twice as many as that of any other country; that our postage is lower, and in proportion to the number of the post offices, and of miles that the mails are carried, is more efficiently and economically managed than any other. Our telegraphic system, on the contrary, is far inferior to that of Great Britain and many other countries of Europe. The rates are higher, and the telegraph is less used. The post office is managed by the people, through their agents, for the public benefit; the telegraph, by a corporation for the benefit of its stockholders, and the public interest is made subservient to private gain. The new inventions in telegraphy which we have referred to, and the normal growth of the telegraphic correspondence, will very greatly reduce the cost; but, if the business is retained by a monopoly, these benefits will ensue in the future as in the past, principally to the stockholders of the Western Union Telegraph Company. If, on the other hand, they are used for the benefit of the people, the telegraph will soon become the rival of the mail.

By the use of these inventions the lines now in operation will be nearly sufficient to transmit as many telegrams as there are letters sent by mail. Thirty-seven million letters are annually sent through the post office at Boston—a larger number, in proportion to population, than are sent in any other American city. By the use of the quadruplex instrument—four messages being simultaneously transmitted over one wire during the five business hours of the day, two messages

by the duplex during five hours, and one message at a time during ten hours—80,000 messages could be sent over one hundred wires a day, or 29,200,000 in a year. This comes very close upon the present delivery of letters.

The Post Office Department has at many different times recommended the union of the telegraph to the post office. Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives have for several years had the subject under consideration, and have made five reports, at different sessions of Congress, in favor of the union. The Senate Committee on Post Offices in April last submitted a report to the Senate, after the question had been "fully and ably discussed by Messrs. Hubbard and Orton; the former favoring the postal telegraph system, the latter (the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company) in opposition to it;" and say that, from "a comparison of the arguments, it will appear that they differ more in regard to the *time* and *manner* of uniting the telegraph with the post office than in the *ultimate necessity* of the union;" that "Mr. Orton has not assigned any sufficient public reason why the transfer should not take place immediately, while it does appear that the interests of the Western Union Telegraph Company have been greatly promoted by delay;" and that it is for their interest to defer this union for a few years longer, for "if the next five years should witness only the same advance as the last five—from \$13,000,000 to \$32,000,000—the value of the property will have increased to \$80,000,000," and this increased value in the future, as in the past, will be conferred by the public, without the contribution of a single dollar from stockholders, or the interruption of dividends, excepting for only two or three years.

The committee report that they "were satisfied, from the argument of Mr. Orton, that the business can be performed at the proposed rates in union with the post office, as the expense will be less, the rates can be lower, the facilities greater, if such union is made, than if the business should be carried on by private companies." There are only three methods in which the telegraph business can be transacted—either by a private company, unrestrained by any uniform system of law, by a purely governmental system, or by a combination of a governmental and private system analogous to that in which other mail service is performed. In Europe all the lines of stage coaches, many railroads, and all telegraphs, have been constructed and operated by the State. In Germany, in 1872, the Post Office Department maintained an equipment of 15,170 horses and 14,180 carriages, and operated 64,753 miles of telegraph, transmitting 7,224,352 telegrams, besides sending and receiving

over 3,000,000 from other countries. The average rate for interior messages was between nineteen and twenty cents, while in America the same year it was seventy cents. In America the Post Office Department has never operated mail routes. Where the mails are carried by horses the Postmaster General has contracted for the transmission of the mails with the lowest bidder; where a fixed investment is required, as on all railroads, there Congress has established the compensation to be paid, dependent on the weight of the mail and the frequency of its transmission, and authorized the Postmaster General to determine these points, and contract with the corporation owning the railroad.

The Senate committee reported a bill for a postal telegraph system. It provides for the reception of telegrams at all post offices, their transmission between postal telegraph offices, and delivery by special messenger, at greatly reduced rates, fixed by the bill; and it authorizes the Postmaster General to contract with parties, who agree to furnish and operate all necessary lines of telegraph, and to transmit by telegraph all telegrams promptly and correctly, and to receive as full compensation for the services performed the telegraphic rates paid by the public, less five cents on each telegram retained by the Post Office Department for its expenses; such contract to be terminable at the option of Congress. It gives Congress the right to purchase the lines and property of the company at any time at an appraised valuation. The committee says that "the per centage of reduction of the rates fixed by the bill is thirty-three and one-third per cent., which is as great as was made in Great Britain on the union of the two services, and is as great as can safely be made at one time, with due regard to the prompt transmission of the increased business created by the union."

In England the Government paid \$40,000,000 for the purchase of lines; here no outlay is required. There the risk was assumed by the Government; here a company superintends the transfer to the post office, and assumes the entire expense and responsibility. The bill authorizes the Postmaster General to establish telegraph offices at every post office, and at such other places as the wants of the public may require. The company may also establish offices wherever it pleases; but all rates must be prepaid by telegraph stamps. This arrangement closes no existing office, but opens many new ones. In England there was an increase of eighty per cent. in the number of offices in the three years ended June, 1873. In this country the increase was less than twenty-five per cent. during the same time.

The question has been raised whether it is just toward the existing telegraphic organi-

zations for the Government to undertake the telegraphic business without making some compensation to such companies. In answer to this it is shown that the telegraph companies obtained the passage of a law by Congress in 1866, granting to them certain valuable privileges, and that the companies then agreed to sell their lines to the Government at an appraisal.

The present bill recognizes this provision, and requires the contracting parties to purchase the lines of any telegraph companies that may desire to sell at an appraisal, in the manner prescribed by the act of 1866. The bill also makes adequate provision for press dispatches, and reduces the rates so greatly that "specials" will be as cheap as the Associated Press news now is.

It provides for the organization of associations of the press and of merchants as freely as if there were competing companies. The report closes as follows:

"The bill neither gives a monopoly to the Postal Telegraph Company nor prohibits competition. The telegraph business can be

carried on by any other company that can perform it more cheaply or promptly than under the postal telegraph system.

"It gives telegrams the secrecy of sealed letters, throws around them the protection of law, punishes all tampering with their contents, shuts no old offices, but opens many new ones close to the homes of the people, and by the low rates for night telegrams (thirty cents under one thousand miles and fifty cents for all greater distances) will create a business as great by night as by day, to the great benefit of the country, binding together all parts of the country by ties of interest and communication closer than any laws can do. The committee believe that the measure will free the press from the weight constantly pressing upon it, will reorganize the commercial news department, and give to the public a cheap telegraph, with increased facilities, regulated by law; and that it should receive the sanction of Congress; and therefore report the accompanying bill, and recommend its adoption."

HENRY WILSON.*

If this distinguished statesman and politician had rendered no other service to the cause of human rights his valuable history of the "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power" would entitle him to the gratitude of posterity. The present generation no less is indebted to him for the clear and inviting way in which he has presented the facts of history connected with the irrepressible conflict. He must be a very poor citizen of the Republic who is not familiar with the contest from the beginning. Knowledge is power in every department of life. Every politician or statesman who has attained any success realizes this, and views with alarm any neglect on the part of young men to inform themselves of the events of political history.

The men of the past generation drew their inspiration from the history of the Revolution of 1776. The biographies of its leaders—Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton—were faithfully studied and absorbed into the lives of all those great men who have shed a lustre on the politics of the last half century. Now, the men who are to sustain the honor and interests of their coun-

try at the present and in the future, must add to their knowledge of Revolutionary history a clear understanding of the causes and facts of the late rebellion and its antecedent events. In no work that has appeared, or is likely soon to appear, can this be so readily attained as in the perusal and study of Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power." It is true, only two volumes of the history have yet been published, but these are exceedingly interesting, and, at present, perhaps the most important of the series. The plan of the history is something like this: The work is to be comprised in three volumes; the first volume ends with the annexation of Texas; the second with the election of Abraham Lincoln; the third will conclude with the final and complete overthrow of the slave power. The division is an appropriate and natural one.

In volume I the earliest efforts toward the abolition of slavery are carefully preserved. The development of the slave power in the framing of the Constitution and the enactment of the fugitive slave law of 1793 are noted, showing the steady growth and the insidious hold that slavery was gaining in Congress, until it culminated in the famous Missouri Com-

*The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power. 2 vols; 8vo. J. R. Osgood & Co.: Boston.

promise. Then came the advent of William Lloyd Garrison,* the organization of abolition societies, with mobs and riots, and disgraceful surrenders by Church and State. Toward the close of the first volume John Quincy Adams, Giddings and Root, of Ohio, appear in opposition, and brave men they were; Frederick Douglass escapes from slavery, and electrifies with his eloquence New and Old England; William H. Seward begins to stir the waters. But the annexation of Texas silences all but a few faithful voices, and so the first volume closes amid discouragement and gloom.

In the second volume we find slavery beginning to assert itself more and more boldly. The Wilmot proviso is treacherously slain, and the odious fugitive slave law becomes a living verity. The Northern States hasten to pass "black laws" on the one hand, and "personal liberty laws" on the other. The compromise of 1850 is enacted, the Missouri compromise annulled, and the Whig party dissolved. Webster disappears, and Sumner becomes a prominent actor in the irrepressible conflict. Calhoun's expiring effort in behalf of slavery is nobly met by Seward. Douglas, the great Democrat, finds foemen worthy of his steel in Chase, Hale, and Wade. Then we have fully and fairly depicted the wrongs of Kansas and the execution of John Brown. The Dred Scott decision is shown to be but a link—an important one—in the chain which the slave power was forging. All the secrets of the "Underground Railroad" are brought out—an interesting chapter. Mr. Seward's great speeches in the

West during the Lincoln campaign of 1860, bring the second volume to its ending. In studying these two volumes we seem all the while to see the slave power steadily rising. Its career, so far, is but a succession of victories. Freedom, on the other hand, seems to be attended only by defeat. Her friends, many of them, prove inefficient or false, while her true men reap only contempt and disappointment. Not a few of her leading advocates in 1850 actually despaired. In their despondency, we are told, they were often cheered by old John Brown, who fell a martyr to his enthusiasm for liberty. How striking, here, are the words of Fox, who, speaking of the times of James II, the dark days of English liberty, says: "I know not that history can furnish a more forcible lesson against despondency than by recording that within a short time from those dismal days in which men of the greatest constancy despaired, and had reason to do so, within five years from the death of Sydney arose the brightest era of freedom known to the annals of our country."*

At the next Presidential election a majority of the voters will be men who know nothing of the "irrepressible conflict" except what they may have learned from history and tradition. The political events prior to 1860 are fast receding from the experience of the generations now in active life. Can we overestimate the importance of transmitting to those coming after us an impartial history of those events? Much, it is true, may be learned from the "Lives" of Adams, Webster, Clay, Lincoln, Seward, Chase, and other prominent actors on the stage, but in Wilson's history we have a comprehensive and transparent view of all the scenes. It is scarcely inferior in interest to Bancroft's history of the United States. Those who have read the last two volumes of Bancroft—the American Revolution—will bear witness to their absorbing interest and attractive style. We have just finished reading both Bancroft and Wilson with equal zest and high appreciation.

In Bancroft's last volume we find recorded several interesting facts illustrating the very earliest indications of a rising slave power.

*History of James II.

*Long before Garrison there appeared a radical abolitionist named Benjamin Lay, who was born in Great Britain in 1677, and died at Abington, Pennsylvania, in 1759, aged 82 years. He was one of the first to bear a faithful testimony against slaveholding, and for forty-one years labored zealously in the cause of emancipation, during twenty eight of which he resided in Pennsylvania.

A short time before his death the Society of Friends made a rule of discipline, disowning their members for holding slaves, or being concerned in their importation, on hearing which he poured forth this pious ejaculation: 'Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God.' After a short pause, he added, 'I can now die in peace.'

His fondness for retirement and meditation induced him to select a spot on the farm of John Phipps, near Abington Meeting-house, where he improved a natural excavation in the earth, so as to afford him a commodious apartment. Here he kept his library of books, which amounted to nearly two hundred volumes, and in this seclusion he reflected, read, and wrote. His remains were interred in Friends' burial ground at Abington.

In his preface Mr. Bancroft claims that he has "been able, from new materials, to trace the division between the North and South, arising from slavery, further back than had as yet been done."

On page 217 he informs us that the Continental Congress in 1779 rejected a stipulation not to engage in the slave trade after peace should be obtained. The vote by States was unanimous, John Jay and Elbridge Gerry alone dissenting. These two eminent men may be regarded as the earliest opponents of the slave power. During the same year an effort was made to enlist the slaves in the defense of the Southern States against the British.* Hamilton and Laurens favored the idea, and Congress advised it. Washington hesitated on the ground, mainly, that the whole body of slaves would rush into the army, and that the utter lack of arms would create a dangerous strife as to who should arm the fastest. South Carolina heard the advice of Congress in anger, and rejected it with disdain.

When Northern members of the Continental Congress, in its earliest debates, spoke freely of the evil of slavery, a member from South Carolina declared "if property in slaves should be questioned there must be an end of confederation." "No one," says Bancroft, "could declare himself more strongly for freedom for the negro than Governor Morris, of New York, a man of business and a man of pleasure." And when the final treaty of peace, in November, 1782, came to be signed, no word in it had, except indirectly, indicated the existence of slavery in the United States. It was, nevertheless, made known by an interlineation at the last moment that men could be held as property in the confederacy. Both English and American statesmen however, interpreted the treaty as including free negroes as citizens.† Remembering that Mr. Bancroft was formerly a distinguished member of the Democratic party, his testimony on slavery has additional significance.

Few will realize, in reading Wilson's history, the vast amount of labor it has cost its industrious author. It was under the labors of

this great work that his health gave way. Thousands of pages of the *Congressional Globe*, the *Tribune*, the *Liberator*, and other newspapers had to be scanned, collated, and thoroughly digested. The libraries of Washington and Boston were at his command. In the latter city he found a library devoted to political history especially, from which he derived great assistance. He rather avoids statistics and dry statements of facts. The reader is carried along in a natural and easy way, as in reading a well-told story. Among the faults of the work, perhaps, is the omission of dates. Occasionally, too, there is a neglect to give the Christian name of some statesman alluded to, which as time wears away will be confusing. We have had more than one Adams, Clay, Seymour, Washburn, and Wilson in public life.

While a large share of the work is devoted to the politics of slavery, other phases of the contest are not omitted. The relations of the Church to the subject are treated with fairness and ability.

The press, the literature of the day, the schools and the lecture platform are not overlooked. Their powerful influences are properly acknowledged.

Not statesmen and politicians, alone, are recognized as bearing a part in the conflict, but men and women in all shades of life: Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Phillips, Edmund Quincy and Lucretia Mott; Channing, Parker, Cheever and Beecher; Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lydia Maria Child and Myrtilla Miner; Frederick Douglass, Thomas Garnett, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and other equally worthy and interesting characters.

The "coalition" that elected Sumner to the United States Senate makes an interesting chapter. We also have quite a full and authentic history of Chase's election by a similar unnatural coalition. Much of Mr. Wilson's history is written from his own personal experience. He can say of it: "All of which I saw, and a part of which I was."

He was the leader and the presiding officer of many political conventions, and of the Massachusetts Legislature. He was a prominent member of the "Know Nothing" party, and helped to break it up when its subservience to the slave power was manifest. It

* Bancroft's History, vol. x, p. 291.

† Vol. x, p. 591.

seems to have been one of the mistakes of his life that he ever countenanced, in any way, that narrow, bigoted organization—even with the hope and design of controlling it. But of its history he is a well-qualified exponent. His revelations of the doings of the Whig Presidential conventions of 1848 and 1852 are also original, and from personal observation and knowledge. He hardly justifies himself in advocating the nomination of an adventurer as the candidate of the Republican party in 1856. Neither does he seem consistent in joining a cabal of Senators to defeat the nomination of one of their number in 1860. So far, however, as these events relate to slavery, his testimony is eminently trust-

worthy, although colored by his natural enthusiasm.

The eminent historian of the United States concludes his introductory remarks to the last volume in these words:

"It is good to look away from the strifes of the present day to the great days when our country had for its statesmen Washington and John Adams, Jefferson and Hamilton, Franklin and Jay, and their compeers."

Vice President Wilson, when he shall have completed the history of the "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," may use the same language, substituting the names of statesmen like Adams and Seward, Chase and Sumner, Giddings and Root, Wade and Hale, Lincoln and Grant, and their patriotic cotemporaries.

OUR INTERNAL COMMERCE.

Few persons are aware of the magnitude of our internal commerce. Its value is many times greater than our commerce with all foreign nations, while the amount of money paid for the single item of transportation is estimated, on good authority, to be nearly double the entire revenues of the nation. Some idea may be had of the value of this commerce from the statement, that in 1872 the value of the commodities, moved by the railroads of the country, exceeded \$10,000,000,000, and that the commerce of the cities and towns of the Ohio river alone during the same year was over \$1,600,000,000.

The amount paid for transportation to the three routes through the State of New York—the New York Central railroad, the Erie railway, and the Erie canal and its branches—was, in the aggregate, \$41,418,103, while the total number of tons moved was 16,631,609. The tonnage and freights were distributed as follows:

Routes.	Tons.	Freight, &c.
N. Y. Central R.R.	4,393,965	\$16,259,647
Erie railway	5,564,274	14,509,745
New York canals.	6,673,370	10,648,711
Total	16,631,609	\$41,418,103

During the same year the yield of wheat, corn, rye, oats, and barley, in the United States, according to a careful estimate made by J. R. Dodge, the Statistician of the Agricultural Department, was in the aggregate 1,656,198,100, distributed as follows:

Products.	1872.
Wheat.....	249,997,100
Corn.....	1,092,719,000
Rye.....	14,888,600
Oats.....	271,747,000
Barley.....	26,846,400
Total bushels.....	1,656,198,100

From the above statement it will be seen that in 1872 the total tonnage of the grain production of the United States amounted to 43,505,190 tons.

If we add to the productions given in the following table the cotton produced in 1872—about 3,900,000 bales at 400 pounds per bale—(780,000 tons) we have the total tonnage of six of our leading productions 44,285,190 tons:

Products.	Pounds & bushel.	Tons.
Wheat	60	7,499,913
Corn	56	30,596,132
Rye.....	56	416,880
Oats.....	32	4,347,952
Barley.	48	644,313
Total number tons....		43,505,190

When we come to add to this the immense tonnage of other agricultural products, such as tobacco, sugar, rice, flax, hemp, hay, wool, hops, potatoes, beans, and the tonnage of the live stock moving from the West to the East, and the millions of tons of coal, iron, and lumber annually distributed over the country; and then consider that the aggregate tonnage of these commodities is continually increasing, we shall have no cause to wonder that the question, "How best to provide for the transportation of this immense tonnage?" has become one of the vital questions for the people to answer. It has been conceded by those who have made a study of the subject that our transportation facilities have not kept pace with the growth of our productions. In most of the States we have ample accommodation for local traffic; but we are sadly deficient in through lines, offering cheap rates for the millions of tons of Western freight that seek an outlet to our Eastern markets and the seaboard.

Year.	N. York Central—tons.	Erie railway—tons.	Erie canal—tons.
1856.....	776,112	943,215	2,107,678
1858.....	765,407	816,954	1,767,004
1860.....	1,028,183	1,139,554	2,253,533
1862.....	1,387,433	1,632,955	3,204,277
1864.....	1,557,148	2,170,798	2,535,792
1866.....	1,602,197	3,242,792	2,896,027
1868.....	1,846,599	3,908,243	3,346,986
1870.....	4,122,000	4,852,505	3,083,132
1872.....	4,393,965	5,564,274	3,562,560

The increased demands upon our leading routes may be seen by the above table, showing the increase of tonnage from 1856 to 1872. From this table it will be seen that the demand for increased transportation facilities has been steadily growing through a series of years. The same increase is noticed in the trade over the Pennsylvania Central, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the railroads and canals leading to Montreal, Canada. It is believed by those who have made a thorough investigation of the subject that our present railroad and canal facilities will soon be inadequate to meet the growing demands of Western freight. At present all the leading routes are overtaxed with business, so much so that competition between them has virtually ceased, each route having all it can do, and this without holding forth any special inducement in the shape of low freights. In fact, so great has been the pressure on our leading through lines that an increase of freight tariffs has been adopted to lessen the pressure upon them.

With this present condition of affairs, what are we to do when the increase of production shall largely exceed the capacity of the roads to transport even at higher prices than now demanded? This is a vital question, one that is now awaiting an answer from the representatives of the people.

The increase of commerce on the rivers and lakes of our country can easily be met by an increase of transportation facilities. Additional boats can be added to carry all the freights offered. Private enterprise will be equal to any growth that the future may develop, and all that the Government will be required to do will be to keep the rivers and lakes in such a condition as not to imperil navigation. With safe channels, proper lights, good harbors, provided by the Government, private enterprise will take care of the growth of trade in this direction. But these great natural routes, although they provide a partial relief to the internal commerce of the country, are not reliable. Low water and severe winters shut them off when the demands for transportation are greatest. Practically these routes are closed by the middle of November, and remain so until the middle of March, thus depriving

the commerce of the country of its cheapest routes of transportation during four months of its busiest season. It is therefore evident that the solution of the transportation problem requires the opening of water lines south of the rigorous frost line that closes in early winter the present northern routes, and in addition to this, the building of a double track, all-freight railroad from some central point of production in the West to the most available point—commercially considered—on the Atlantic seaboard. We cannot close our eyes to the necessity of these improvements. They may be postponed or delayed a few years longer, but the pressing necessities of our internal commerce will compel their adoption, sooner or later.

These points settled upon, the question is transformed from one of expediency to one of locality. Where shall these lines be located? Where shall they begin, and where end? These are questions hard to agree upon. Local jealousies interfere; the influence of section is felt; the interests of existing routes are brought to bear; and between them all the great work is neglected. For the good of the whole country we hope that these conflicting interests will before long be harmonized, so that the locality of the proposed routes may be fixed upon and the more difficult question of how to provide the means for the prosecution of the work properly considered.

Who shall build these routes? is a question on which the people are divided. Some favor their building at Government expense, to be owned and regulated by the Government; their tariffs to be fixed at a rate that will pay all expenses and yield a revenue to be applied to the liquidation of the original cost. The advocates of this plan contend that through routes from the West to the East, owned by the Government and run in the interest of the people, would keep in check the present growing railroad monopolies, by fixing a standard rate of transportation charges. They further claim that the routes would be a source of profit, sufficient to repay in a few years the cost of building, and thereafter become a source of revenue to the nation. They base their advocacy of Government ownership on consti-

tutional grounds, and claim that the power to regulate commerce between the States presupposes the right to improve rivers, construct canals, and build railroads whenever the same is found necessary to the proper regulation of commerce. These views are supported by a large and influential class of business men, and are gradually gaining strength among the people.

Another class advocate the building of these routes by private capital, secured by the Government credit. They claim that if the Government will guarantee the payment of the bonds issued, private individuals will prosecute the work to completion. They believe that after the routes are completed, the companies owning them will be able, from the profits of the business, to meet all demands upon them, both for principal and interest, without calling upon the Government for a dollar of money. There is also a class that oppose any Government aid or interference. They claim that commerce should regulate itself without calling for the expenditure of public money, and believe that the Government has no right, under the Constitution, to go into the building of canals or railroads, or exercising exclusive management of the same. This is the old Democratic idea, and of late years has lost in influence and strength. Still, it has a respectable following, and has considerable weight in the discussion of the cheap transportation question now under consideration at the bar of public opinion.

It has been suggested, and the suggestion meets with considerable favor from those who are in favor of building these needed routes, but who are unwilling to have the Government commit itself to a large expenditure of money, that a comprehensive system of internal improvements be adopted, and a certain appropriation be made from year to year to carry on these improvements. The plan is to adopt a system that will, in the course of twenty years, or a less time, provide the nation with enough through lines from the West to the East, and from the North to the South, to meet the demands of our internal commerce for the next fifty or a hundred years. This plan would call for a yearly expenditure of say \$20,000,000. This in twenty years would

be a total expenditure of \$400,000,000. But, with not more than two routes undertaken at a time, it is believed that the Government, long before the expiration of the twenty years, would be in receipt of revenues sufficient to reduce the yearly tax for this class of public improvements at least one-half. This plan is worthy of careful consideration. If faithfully carried out it would in time bring certain relief to all sections of the country; and this without any great tax upon the resources of the people.

We are in the presence of an actual necessity. We may do without these routes for this year and the next, but the time is coming when trade will demand them, and if private capital cannot build them the Government must. The routes that will be needed in the near future will cost, in the aggregate, a large sum of money—more than private capitalists can command without Government aid. To undertake these routes now might tend to embarrass the Government, but to distribute the work over a series of years would make the burden light, and, in view of the advantages to be secured, easily borne.

If the people of the West could look forward to the time when these routes would be opened, they would wait with patience the coming of the time, even though delayed a few years. What kills prosperity and checks enterprise is this feeling of uncertainty, which takes possession of a people who are in need of relief, and are in doubt whether it will ever be granted them.

Our internal commerce must not be neglected, nor allowed to languish for want of proper highways to move upon. Its growth, thus far, has been steady and reliable. To keep pace with this growth either private or public enterprise must begin the work of opening new routes for its expansion.

The report of Senator Windom, chairman of the select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, contains material of great value in the consideration of this vital question. The committee have examined the various routes proposed, gone into a detailed estimate of some of the more prominent ones, and condensed in their report a vast amount of information relative to the growth of our internal commerce, its present facili-

ties, and the necessities of the future. We shall further consider this question in a future number, and shall speak of certain features presented in this valuable report.

EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.—The expenditures of the United States for public buildings at Washington, from the time the Capital was located to the end of fiscal year, June 30, 1873, have been—

For the Capitol.....	\$12,000,000
Treasury.....	6,000,000
Interior.....	4,000,000
Post Office.....	2,000,000
President's House.....	300,000
Agricultural Department.....	200,000
New State Department, (unfinished).....	1,300,000

Total..... \$25,800,000

The total amount of money expended for custom-houses, post offices, and court-houses, from the adoption of the Constitution to June 30, 1873, was \$37,476,747. The largest expenditure was in the State of New York—\$9,634,695. Louisiana comes second, being \$3,806,678; Massachusetts third, \$3,602,360; South Carolina fourth, \$2,767,945; Pennsylvania fifth, \$2,583,016; Illinois sixth, \$2,574,415. The smallest amount is set down to the account of West Virginia, being only \$94; the next Arkansas, \$163. The total expended in the seven Territories amounts to \$405,547.

The amount expended for marine hospitals and light-houses during the same period is \$16,937,115; the largest sum being for Michigan, \$1,879,350; Louisiana, \$1,603,453; New York, \$1,580,639; Massachusetts, \$1,535,487; Florida, \$1,498,485.

The total amount expended during the same period for the improvement of rivers and harbors was \$32,680,340. This sum was distributed as follows: On the Atlantic coast, \$9,587,173; Gulf coast, \$579,706; Pacific coast, \$638,003; Northern lakes, \$10,437,158; Western rivers, \$11,438,300. Of the total expended the sum of \$21,242,040 was for the improvement of harbors.

ABOUT 15 per cent. of the grain exportation from the United States goes to South America and the West Indies.

CRIME IN THE SOUTH—ITS CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.

Politically at no period during the great rebellion was the solution of the Southern problem involved in more intense darkness and apparent difficulty than it has been during the year that has just expired. In the rebellion there was but one course to pursue that could possibly lead to success, and the loyal millions were a unit in purpose and resolution to prosecute the war to a successful issue. There was no halt until the work was completed. In the counter revolution of the past year the South has again been almost deluged in human blood. Law and authority were set at defiance, and State officers were murdered with impunity, while the lives of helpless thousands of innocent private citizens were sacrificed without cause or previous warning. This inhuman butchery was not confined to any one locality or single State, but extended, with lesser or greater severity, over every State recently in rebellion against the Federal Union.

In corroboration of the terrible reality of this statement, we have transferred to the following page a tabulated statement of the murders and assaults with intent to kill in one State alone during the years of reconstruction. Here we have in Arkansas, in a population by census in 1870 of 122,160 blacks and 362,115 whites, *seven hundred and eighty-nine murders, and three hundred and eighty assaults with intent to kill!* This deplorable revelation is probably without a parallel in the history of civilization. Certainly the reader will search in vain over the civilized world for its counterpart, except in the adjoining States of Louisiana, Texas, and Alabama—in some of which the number of murders will, it is claimed, be numerically in excess of those committed in Arkansas. We have published the tabulated returns from the latter State only, for the reason that they have been collected with care by the committee appointed for that purpose at the Chattanooga Convention of the 13th of October last, and come to us in official and reliable form.

A glance at the table will show the reader that the number of murders and attempts to

murder in Arkansas alone amount, in the aggregate, to *one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine*.

Of these murders and assaults with intent to kill, 1,052 were committed by Democrats, and 117 by Republicans. This statement is verified by court-record evidence, and where that could not be obtained the facts come from responsible witnesses, who testify on their personal knowledge. Now, it will be remembered that the so-called "independent" and the Democratic press have persisted in charging that Republicans were and are the murderers in the disaffected States, and that the Democratic element is peaceful and lamb-like throughout the entire South. But here are the facts: There are nine Democratic aggressors to one Republican. Let assertions go for what they are worth. The official record is here presented for serious contemplation.

But there is another aspect of this black catalogue of crime, which the reader will do well to note. Of those by whom these murders and crimes were committed *one thousand and seventy-eight are whites and only eighty-two are blacks*. In this we have a positive and direct refutation of the charges made by Democrats and the Democratic agents of the Associated Press, that the blacks are invariably the aggressors. We most earnestly commend the attention of the public to these statements and to other facts unfolded in the tabulated report. No argument is required; no comments necessary from us. Let the public read and ponder.

Turn now to another feature in this awful revelation of crime. The victims are 865 Republicans and 304 Democrats, or nearly three to one. It is proved, too, that three-fourths of the cases in which Democrats were made to suffer they were themselves the aggressors, and were murdered or beaten by their opponents in self-defense. The figures in the table embrace the period from the commencement of reconstruction down to the close of Baxter's administration. The results are deplorable. They are as follows:

COUNTIES.	Murders.	Assaults with intent.	By whom committed.				On whom committed.				Total by counties.
			Republicans.	Democrats	White.	Black.	Republicans.	Democrats	White.	Black.	
Arkansas	10	6	0	16	16	0	14	2	4	12	16
Ashley	8	4	0	12	12	0	11	1	4	8	12
Benton	17	3	1	19	20	0	17	3	6	14	20
Boone	12	3	2	13	8	2	13	2	6	9	15
Carroll	7	2	1	8	9	0	8	1	9	0	9
Clayton	3	3	0	6	6	0	3	3	4	2	6
Crawford	9	1	2	8	7	3	8	2	9	1	10
Calhoun	10	6	4	12	13	3	14	2	12	4	16
Columbia	18	4	3	17	18	2	18	2	18	2	20
Chicot	14	10	6	18	19	5	20	4	20	4	24
Clark	29	3	12	20	25	7	25	7	25	7	32
Crittenden	2	2	1	3	4	0	3	1	1	3	4
Cross	3	1	0	4	4	0	1	3	4	0	4
Conway	21	2	5	18	23	0	16	7	14	9	23
Drew	13	6	1	18	18	1	18	1	2	17	19
Desha	3	1	0	4	4	0	4	0	0	4	4
Fulton	4	2	1	5	4	1	5	1	5	1	6
Faulkner	8	3	3	8	8	3	11	0	9	2	11
Franklin	23	4	1	26	26	1	25	2	20	7	27
Greene	20	2	1	21	21	1	14	8	13	9	22
Garland	14	8	0	22	22	0	16	6	13	9	22
Hempstead	68	11	2	77	77	2	60	19	21	58	79
Independence	18	9	6	21	22	5	17	10	20	7	27
Jackson	3	1	0	4	4	0	4	0	4	0	4
Johnson	32	8	7	33	36	4	35	5	35	5	40
Jefferson	10	7	2	15	16	1	11	6	13	4	17
Lawrence	4	1	0	5	5	0	4	1	5	0	5
Lafayette	23	13	7	29	29	7	25	11	12	24	36
Lonoke	5	2	2	5	5	2	4	3	3	4	7
Little River	17	7	2	22	23	1	20	4	5	19	24
Lincoln	6	2	0	8	8	0	6	2	2	6	8
Marion	4	2	1	5	6	0	3	3	6	0	6
Mississippi	6	4	2	8	9	1	7	3	4	6	10
Montgomery	2	1	0	3	3	0	2	1	3	0	3
Monroe	5	2	0	7	7	0	7	0	1	6	7
Nevada	6	4	0	10	10	0	6	4	4	6	10
Onachita	11	18	3	26	26	3	18	11	11	18	29
Polk	3	6	1	8	8	0	4	5	9	0	9
Phillips	44	3	8	39	39	8	28	19	21	26	47
Prairie	9	4	2	11	11	2	10	3	7	6	13
Pulaski	30	13	3	40	41	2	30	13	18	25	43
Pope	45	15	4	57	60	1	53	8	33	28	61
Pike	3	2	0	5	5	0	5	0	5	0	5
Perry	6	8	2	12	14	0	8	6	7	7	14
Sharp	5	1	4	2	6	0	2	4	6	0	6
St. Francis	4	2	0	6	6	0	2	4	5	1	6
Saline	8	2	0	10	10	0	1	9	9	1	10
Sebastian	37	63	7	93	97	3	84	16	29	71	100
Sevier	34	20	0	54	49	5	35	19	19	35	54
Union	16	11	1	26	26	1	24	3	4	23	27
Van Buren	8	4	2	10	12	0	10	2	2	10	12
Washington	17	8	2	23	24	1	22	3	9	16	25
Woodruff	16	3	0	19	19	0	6	13	10	9	19
White	30	43	1	72	72	1	53	20	35	38	73
Yell	6	3	3	6	6	3	3	6	3	6	9
	789	380	117	1,052	1,078	82	873	294	578	589	1,167

The last feature in this exhibition to which we shall in this connection ask the attention of the reader is the one which shows that of the victims there were 578 whites and 589 blacks—indicating a war of extermination waged against Republicans without regard to color, but simply on the ground of their political faith and adhesion to the principles of the Republican party.

And what we have here presented in reference to the single State of Arkansas applies with equal force to many of the other Southern States. A tabulated statement of the crimes committed in Louisiana would undoubtedly show a larger aggregate of murders than those of Arkansas, while the record of Texas and Alabama would not fall behind that of the State officially reported, to say nothing of the oft-repeated details of murder and lawlessness coming from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. No Republican in either of these States can claim that his life or property is safe even for a day. Business is prostrate, farms are unimproved, and this fatal upas tree of the South has scattered death and destruction over the entire face of the country.

WHENCE DOES THIS UPAS TREE OF THE SOUTH DERIVE ITS NOURISHMENT?

There is no effect without a cause; and there must be a direct cause, with probably a plurality of indirect causes, for the present state of feeling in the South, and its consequences. And until the primary and auxiliary motives to these murders and this lawlessness of Southern "banditti"—as the leaders in these crimes are aptly denominated—are discovered and means for their thorough eradication adopted, the remedy will be partial and ineffectual.

What then are these causes? Congress may, by delegated committees of investigation, summon witnesses from among all classes, races and colors; and if these witnesses state the facts as they know them, and their statements are recorded with impartiality, they will converge with the unerring certainty with which the compass points to the North Pole, to the fact that the conspirators are at heart opposed to the Republican party, and live and sleep under oath to exterminate that portion of the population, root

and branch, from those States. Professedly they adhere to the Federal Government, but this is only conditionally, and the condition is that the Federal power and authority must be in their own hands and under their own control. Rather than have it otherwise they are prepared to sacrifice not only the party in power, but defeat the Government and dissolve the Union of States whenever opportunity occurs—and for which opportunity they are in daily and nightly preparation. It is the spirit of 1860 and 1861 intensified. It was the Republican party and Republican principles they hated then. They had no word against the Federal Government so long as it was under their own supreme control. The loss of power caused the rebellion, and the effort to regain that power is the prime motive for the extermination of Republicans and Republican principles from the Southern States.

It is in this light that Congress must now meet this grave question, and there is not an hour of time to be lost if they wish to save the party, the Government, and the Union. Merely clipping the branches of the upas tree will not stay its deadly effects. The remedy must be directed to the roots, and it must be applied with a skillful and vigorous hand, and continued until the antidote has become effectual, and the healing of the nation shall be complete and proclaimed from shore to shore by its own people.

But there are auxiliary causes which have encouraged, expanded, and strengthened this spirit of distrust and opposition to Republicans and Republican principles and institutions. Among the more prominent of these are the

PERNICIOUS TEACHINGS OF THE SO-CALLED "IN- DEPENDENT" PRESS.

And here we propose to address a few words to the people and to their representatives in Congress, with all the seriousness which the gravity of this Southern disaffection demands. We propose to speak of the work accomplished by the so-called "independent" press of the country, and, having done this, to ask Republicans who seem somewhat sensitive on the subject of redressing the grievances of Southern Republicans, whether they are justified in longer obeying the lash and

following the advice of journals that have indulged in mutinous conduct for the past three or four years.

In all ages of society history records the existence of men who, if they could not lead, have sought to prove the correctness of their own positions by elevating a class to power wholly at variance with their own views, and by this means prove to those in sympathy with them that the evils they helped inflict could have been averted if their advice had been taken and implicitly followed at the proper moment. It was some such feeling as this that induced Benedict Arnold, who felt that he had not been properly appreciated, to agree to betray West Point to the enemy; and a feeling akin to that which influenced Arnold to his course has had control of the managers of the so-called "independent" press of the country. As an illustration of what is here stated, we point to the course of the *Chicago Tribune*, under its former control; the *New York Tribune*, the *Springfield Republican*, and last, though not least, the *New York Times*. All of these papers are *professedly* Republican, and profess to desire the triumph of the principles of the Republican party; yet, strange to say, the rank and file of the Republican party, if the position assumed by these journals is correct, are without intelligence to select competent persons to represent them in Congress or to administer the State governments of their respective States. Hence, we find the so-called "independent" press laboring assiduously to create such defection within the ranks of its party as will render the success of the Opposition certain, or boldly espousing the claims of the Opposition candidates.

During the lifetime of Mr. Greeley, whom it is admitted did much toward organizing the Republican party, he conceived the idea that his services to the country were not properly appreciated. In short, he was seized with Presidential aspirations. New Orleans having greater newspaper facilities than any other one of the cities of the South, Greeley visited Louisiana and Texas, well knowing that his every word and act would be carefully noted and thoroughly inculcated throughout the Southern States. He discovered at once that if there was any one

thing more than another that an unreconstructed rebel hated, it was Northern men that had the audacity to settle among them and aspire to be anything else than "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Being convinced of this, he made his celebrated New Orleans speech, in which he suggested the application of so much violence to Northern men as would result in driving them from the State. Here commenced the war on "carpet-baggers," and those papers of the "independent" school that favored his elevation to the Presidency at once joined in the hue and cry. It is but justice to the *New York Times* to remark here that its denunciation of Northern men at the South did not commence until after President Grant had entered upon his second term. Whether any of the managers of that paper were overlooked by the President when he came to make up his cabinet, or in the appointment of ministers plenipotentiary, we are not advised, and do not so charge. All that we know is that the defection of the *New York Times* took place after the places had been filled.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS AND ASSOCIATED PRESS AGENTS SOUTH HAVE DECEIVED THE PUBLIC AND ENCOURAGED REBELLION.

The Democratic press of course joined in the hue and cry against Northern men at the South, and the Associated Press dispatches were not only published in these papers, but in the Republican journals of the country. That the dispatches furnished by the Associated Press for publication at the North were untrue has been shown by the sworn testimony taken before the Congressional committees sent South on different occasions, is now well known, yet the managers of that association have not taken any steps to remove the agents guilty of this crime.

During the last canvass the papers alluded to had their special correspondents all over the South, and where it was charged through the Republican press that a reign of violence and terrorism existed the Southern correspondents of these journals were swift to contradict the Republican version. As an illustration of what is here stated, we simply desire to call attention to the fact that the *Times* had a special correspondent in Alabama before the election, and he reported

that profound peace and quiet prevailed all over that State, and that no violence or intimidation of any kind existed. Since the election Congress has sent a committee to that State, and the correspondent of the *Times*, in a letter of the 2d of January, says:

"Thousands of men voted the Democratic ticket against their conviction, from fear of violence or loss of employment, and many thousands more failed to vote at all from the same cause. The Northern people can have no conception of the state of society here, and the testimony taken before the committee cannot but make a deep impression. The evidence fully shows that a republican form of government cannot be maintained in the State of Alabama without the aid of the United States troops.

"The evidence shows that the churches and school-houses of the colored people were burned and destroyed by white Democrats, only because the colored people who worshipped and sent their children to school therein were Republicans; that armed white Democrats, in companies of hundreds, visited some of the more intelligent of these colored people, beat them, and drove them from their homes.

"On the Georgia border white Democrats came to this State and voted not only once, but, in some instances, three times, and led negroes to the polls and made them vote the Democratic ticket. At Girard, in Russell county, the police from Columbus, Ga., surrounded the polls, and kept possession of them all day. It has also been found that the polls at Spring Hill, Barbour county, were destroyed by Democrats, and about six hundred votes lost to the Republicans, and the son of Judge Kiels, who was the United States supervisor, was killed; also, one hundred and fifty colored Republicans killed and wounded at Eufaula, in the same county, on the day of election by armed Democrats, and upward of five hundred Republican voters driven away from the polls.

"Not a particle of evidence has been furnished by the Alabama Democrats, or anybody else, that the United States troops in the slightest degree interfered with the election. On the other hand, the subordinate military officers were so bound up by General Order No. 75 that they did not feel authorized to do anything, or extend any help whatever to the election officers, except when called upon to assist United States marshals in the execution of writs issued by the United States courts. The proscription, social ostracism, withdrawal of business, and loss of employment among Republicans, on account of politics, amounts to a reign of terror, and thousands of voters were lost to the Republican party at the late election from these causes."

The President's message truthfully portrays the general lawlessness existing at the South, and it is imperative on Congress to take some steps toward stopping it. *If we should admit that all the alleged causes for existing violence were true, it is no excuse for their existence or commission.*

All these crimes in the South are instigated and perpetrated by the same class of men that invaded Kansas and attempted to make it a slave State. They are instigated and perpetrated by the men who led the South into rebellion, and for the purpose of producing the belief at the North that a national peace cannot be made permanent until the control of these States and that of the National Government is intrusted again to their hands. The outrages perpetrated by these men in Kansas aroused the entire Northern mind, almost irrespective of party, but when compared with the crimes committed in any one of the Southern States, the outrages in Kansas are a mere bagatelle. The tabular statement of the homicides and assaults with intent to kill in the State of Arkansas covers the period of reconstruction and down to the inauguration of the Garland government. The statement, it may be remarked, is not full or complete, but, so far as made, is of undoubted authenticity. Look at it again. In a brief recapitulation we find, first, that eleven hundred and sixty-nine murders and assaults with intent to kill took place during the period mentioned; second, that of the slain three hundred and four were Democrats, and eight hundred and sixty-five were Republicans; and, third, that, out of eleven hundred and sixty-nine crimes committed, one hundred and seventeen were perpetrated by Republicans, and one thousand and fifty-two by Democrats. This of itself is a fearful story, and we repeat that what is true of Arkansas in this respect is equally true of every other Southern State—the aggregate only, in each State, differing in numbers.

THE DUTY OF CONGRESS AND THE REPUBLICAN PRESS.

The question now arises, how much longer will the Congress of the United States allow these things to go unpunished, and how much longer will Republicans at the South have to put up with this kind of treatment?

If persecution is permitted to continue, the Democracy of the South will be at liberty to believe that the present Congress is paving the way to the election of a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President. Such a belief is inevitable, and with it will come a more terrible reign of terror, violence, and bloodshed than have yet been recorded.

Is this the position Congress intends to place itself in to avoid the criticism of the so-called "independent" press of the country?

It is time the press of the party was speaking out on this subject, else the day is not far distant when the Presidential candidate of the Republican party will not have friends enough in any one of the Southern States to carry an electoral vote. Is it the desire to make the Republican party a sectional party? If not, it is time the Republican members of Congress should provide against such a contingency, and this can only be done by taking such steps as will protect the lives of Republicans at the South, and the enforcement of the law, regardless of what the so-called "independent" press may say.

Since the foregoing article was written its remedial suggestions have to some extent been carried into effect, and so far with good results. By orders from the President, issued through the general commanding the United States army, General Sheridan has been ordered to the front. He reported promptly for duty at New Orleans, arriving there in time to prevent bloodshed at the opening of the State Legislature, which, in his absence, would undoubtedly have occurred. It is a deplorable state of affairs that calls for army interference at the organization of a State Legislature; but that such a precautionary step was absolutely necessary on the occasion referred to, no intelligent and discriminating individual will deny, who is in favor of the peace and welfare of society. While, therefore, we regret the occasion, we rejoice in the fact of the act. General Sheridan has never made a mistake in his military experience, and we have the fullest confidence in him now, and in the ultimate success of his mission. Let the "banditti" and their followers hurl their anathemas at his head, and

the so-called "independent" and the Democratic press denounce him and the President, the people will sustain them to the end in their determination to restore security to life. "The darkest hour is just before the dawn;" and already we see a ray of light forcing itself through the dark clouds that hang over the Southern States. Congress has taken hold of the subject in earnest. The reports of the Congressional committees sent to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama will afford many additional facts, upon the receipt of which Congress can act with intelligence and prudence. The new policy is not one of usurpation and oppression, as claimed by the enemies of the Government, but of security to life, instead of perpetual bloodshed and murder. It matters not from what cause the present disturbed condition of these States originated, the claims of humanity and the public voice demand the restoration of law and order, with full protection to life and the legitimate exercise of the elective franchise. These secured, the presence of the army will no longer be required, and every soldier will be withdrawn. Heaven speed the day when this shall be; and to hasten its accomplishment may we hope that every good citizen, South and North, will rise above all party affiliations that stand in the way of harmony and concord, and unite with the friends of law and order in bringing peace and prosperity to every section of the Union. We have faith that day is dawning.

The capital of the New York Central and Hudson River railroads, in stock and bonds, amounts to \$105,925,487, and the capital of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railway to \$84,262,650, making a total for the through line from New York to Chicago of \$190,188,137. The capital stock of the Erie railway, including its branches and leased roads, is \$118,265,979. The capital stock and bonds of the Pennsylvania road amount to \$88,000,000. The capital stock of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad amounts to \$57,000,000. This road is 795 miles in length, and has no watered stock. It is estimated that the excess of capital over actual cost in the roads above given, except the last named, amounts to at least \$195,000,000.

PRACTICAL ART EDUCATION FOR MECHANICS.

Wealth is the product of work. Prosperity comes to us individually, and as a nation only through the avenues of industry. The impression that labor is not honorable originated in savage life, and is simply a relic of the barbarous ages when men abstained from labor and compelled their women to slavish drudgery. Civilization lifts the burdens from the weaker sex and recognizes labor as honorable in all, and industry as the basis of prosperity, true dignity, and honorable preferment. Idle heads and hands are the parents of the twin sisters vice and crime. What is there in society more thoroughly contemptible, if not more dangerous, than a life of willful indolence? What thing more deplorable than a human being endowed by its Creator with brain and muscle dragging out an existence without aim, object, or usefulness? Yet it is a lamentable fact that just such beings, in less or larger numbers, may be found in nearly every community; and statistics, for ages past, have shown that to this cause alone the calendar of crime is mainly indebted for its plethoric dimensions.

Idleness is not without its cause. It comes of false education. Of all the busy beings in the world the infant affords one of the most illustrious examples. Before it has left its mother's arms the little hands are busy. As soon as the capacity for locomotion is acquired the child becomes a most industrious worker, and its own inventive genius never fails to furnish materials for employment until exhaustion compels it to lay down its tools, and sleep comes to restore the wasted energies, only to recuperate the tender muscles for another round of labor.

In a few years the infant emerges into boyhood or girlhood; but the round of daily activity has lost its charm. The school is irksome and the lesson a burden. A disposition to idleness is cultivated. Mental and physical labor is considered an intolerable task, and no small degree of ingenuity is brought into play in devising ways to escape the unwelcome drudgery of both study and

work. Activity is natural, the habit of indolence is acquired.

The school days have passed, and the parents, with a commendable prompting of natural solicitude for the future welfare of their sons, recommend an apprenticeship with a view to a thorough knowledge of some mechanical trade as a desirable occupation and acceptable avenue to independence and honorable position. Ten to one objection is made by the boy to the proposition, and persisted in until the parent yields, and the years roll on until the time for acquiring the practical knowledge of a trade has passed. Youth passes into manhood, and the young man is thrown upon his own resources without any positive views as to the future, or visible means of respectable support for himself, much less for a family.

Now, why all this aversion in the youthful mind to the God-given blessing of physical labor? Are we not justified in the assumption that it originates in that relic of barbarism, the popular impression that manual labor is not honorable? If his parents and his teachers, out of the feelings of their own hearts, had early impressed the mind of the child with the dignity of labor, and if, as he advanced in his boyhood, the substantial advantages of a practical knowledge of a trade had been faithfully presented to his attention, accompanied at the proper time by a box of boy's tools, with materials, and an eight-by-ten workshop in which to use them, an aversion to labor would be an anomaly, while the desire to become master of a mechanical trade would, in nine cases out of ten, become a passion in the youthful aspirations of the pupil thus trained. To be successful, parents and teachers must themselves be enthusiastically impressed with the dignity of labor and the substantial advantages of mechanical independence over the precarious position of a clerkship, an agency, or other subordinate position in life, and even over the ever-crowded professions of law, medicine, and the fine arts. It was well said by Theodore Parker: "The fine

arts do not interest me so much as the coarse arts, which feed, clothe, house, and comfort the people. I should rather be a great man, as Franklin, than a Michael Angelo; nay, if I had a son, I should rather see him a mechanic who organized use, like the late George Stephenson, in England, than a great painter like Rubens, who only copied beauty." "A multitude of facts might be cited," says the Hon. Birdsey Northrop, of Connecticut, "to show that the mastery of a trade is one of the best preparations for practical life and prosperity in business." Clerks are generally paid less than skillful mechanics, and are less independent. In their precarious positions they are liable to disappointments and humiliating struggles with the thousands of others "looking for a place." Every advertisement for a clerk brings a whole swarm of applicants. How pitiable the condition of this superabundance of book-keepers and exchangers wasting their lives in "waiting for a place," while our factories, railroads, and trades are clamoring for educated superintendents, foremen, engineers, skillful managers, and "cunning workmen."

A young man who has learned a trade, and has made himself a skillful mechanic, has attained to a degree of independence of which the reverses of fortune and vicissitudes of life can never deprive him. The merchant may prosper for a time, and accumulate wealth, yet a few unfortunate adventures may throw him into bankruptcy, and he becomes a helpless member of society. If a mechanic fails in business he can fall back upon his trade, of which no reverses can deprive him. It is a saying that the father of two sons, who gives one of them a farm and the other a trade, starts them in life with equal prospects of success, yet the farm may slip from the hands of its owner, while the mechanic and his trade are forever inseparable. In short, the skilled workman has always resources within himself. While population increases, and ships, houses, clothing, and furniture decay, skilled workmen will be in demand, and with them industry is the sure road to prosperity.

THE RELATION OF THE STATE TO THE PROPER EDUCATION OF ITS MECHANICS.

The responsibility of the parent for the

future success of his son does not end when the lad enters upon an apprenticeship. Through the years of practical training the parent and the employer are responsible for his progress. The State itself owes a duty to the lad which it must discharge, or suffer in consequence of its neglect. Communities everywhere are suffering to-day pecuniary losses in consequence of being compelled to employ half-trained, slovenly, and wasteful mechanics. When the Hon. George S. Boutwell was Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, a few years ago, he sent circulars to all manufacturing establishments throughout the State, requesting an expression of the views of proprietors or superintendents relative to the comparative profits and advantages of employing intelligent or ignorant workmen. "The replies," says our authority, "with striking unanimity, showed that ignorant labor was always expensive; that the amount and quality of the work performed were proportioned to the intelligence of the laborers; that intelligent laborers learn more readily, are more skillful when learned, are more easily controlled, perform more, as well as better, work, require less looking after, keep their machines cleaner and more judiciously oiled, incur less liability to breakage of machinery, and less waste of stock. As a general rule there is a *higher sense of moral obligation, and more honesty, fidelity, and regard for the interests of employers among the laborers.*" These replies to Mr. Boutwell's inquiries showed conclusively, he says in his report, that among a large number of persons, "upon an average, trustworthiness in labor and honesty in the custody of property are proportioned to the intelligence of the operative." *

Mr. E. P. Morgan, mechanic engineer of the Saco (Maine) water-power machine shop, says: "Through the inability of our workmen to understand a working drawing, hundreds of dollars are lost every year in this establishment." Commenting on this, Mr. Bartholomew, of Boston, says: "What is true in this case is true of our manufacturing establishments all over the land. The time lost in doing that which must be done again

*See an article on "Training Schools and Model Workshops for Boys," in *THE REPUBLIC*, vol. 1, page 281.

because of error, the loss of material and of power, the wear and tear of tools to no good purpose, the time of engineers and foremen spent in explaining drawings which would have been understood at a glance had the workmen been instructed in drawing, and the time consumed in listening to those explanations costs the country, it is safe to say, millions of dollars annually."* Carpenters, masons, bricklayers, publishers, and master workmen generally experience the same degree of annoyance and financial losses through untaught and unskilled workmen. But the public, for whom the work is performed, are the actual losers in the end; for all these delays, blunders, and drawbacks are counted in when the bills for the work are made up for settlement. In the United States, much more than in England and other older countries, capitalists suffer from this cause. A very intelligent writer on this subject says:

"In Great Britain, and in the leading countries of the continent, the governments are making strenuous efforts to train their citizens in all those kinds of knowledge which will make them more skillful artisans, and add to the value of their productions. These contests between nations have become largely industrial; and while the commerce and trade of the world are the prize for which they contend, the great international industrial exhibitions are the arenas in which they measure their progress and note their deficiencies. The effect of the World's Fair, held at Hyde Park in 1851, under the patronage of the late Prince Albert, was to satisfy the English manufacturers and people that, in all that related to the application of art, of beauty, to manufactures, they were completely distanced, *only one nation, the United States, among the civilized nations, being below England in this respect.*"†

On this subject, Professor Ware, professor of architecture in the Boston Institute of Technology, bears the following testimony, given in the papers on drawing, published by the State Board of Massachusetts in 1870:

"At the Universal Exhibition of 1851, England found herself, by general consent, almost at the bottom of the list, among all the

countries of the world, in respect of her art manufactures. *Only the United States of the great nations stood below her.* The first result of this discovery was the establishment of schools of art in every large town. At the Paris Exposition of 1867, England stood among the foremost, and in some branches of manufacture distanced the most artistic nations. It was the schools of art and the great collection of works of industrial art at the South Kensington Museum that accomplished this result. *The United States still held her place at the foot of the column.*"

From the facts here presented, the reader will have no difficulty in deciding what is the duty of the parent, the employer, and the public toward the boy who enters a workshop to become an intelligent, acceptable, and successful workman—a master in the useful arts. It is presumed that he commences with a fair English education, and possibly some rudimental knowledge of drawing. Yet he may be, and too often is, deficient in these acquirements. In either case, his technical education commences when he enters the workshop, and no opportunity should be omitted to enable him to qualify his head as well as his hands for future usefulness to himself and to society.

EFFECT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF TRAINING APPRENTICES.

Under our present system, or rather the absence of any system of mental training for young men, while they are acquiring a knowledge of their business, the mind fails to guide the hands successfully to the acquirement of a mastery of the higher accomplishments of skilled workmanship. The parent supposes his duty is completed when he has procured a place for his son, while the employer feels that all obligations between himself and the lad have been discharged when he assigns his apprentice a piece of work, instructs him how to execute it, and the latter obeys the instructions received. But there should be a higher aim than the performance of mere manual labor. Nothing short of the highest type of skilled workmanship should satisfy either the parent, the employer or the young mechanic. To secure this, the education of the mind in the principles of mechanics should keep pace with that of the hands. Not unfrequently the employer is incapable of imparting the necessary art instruction, or considers him-

*See paper on "Art Education," by Prof. C. O. Thompson, of Worcester, Mass., in the "Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1873," page 496.

†See the admirable pamphlet on "Drawing in the Public Schools: The Present Relation of Art to Education in the United States, 1874," by J. Edwards Clarke, A. M. published under the auspices of Commissioner Eaton, of the U. S. Bureau of Education.

self under no obligation to perform this duty to his apprentices. At all events the fact is painfully apparent that the scientific instruction of apprentices is wholly neglected; and unless a radical improvement is made in the present mode of preparing apprentices for the successful mastery of the higher branches of mechanical workmanship we shall always remain behind the older nations in the production of skilled labor. In a memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature, signed by many of the leading manufacturers of that State, the memorialists say: "Our manufacturers compete, under disadvantages, with the manufacturers of Europe; for in all the manufacturing countries of Europe free provision is made for instructing workmen of all classes in drawing. At this time almost all the best draughtsmen in our shops are thus trained abroad."

How best to meet this deficiency in the technical training of our artisans is a question which is now seriously engaging the attention of philanthropic minds in many parts of the country. Mechanics' institutes have in some of the larger communities met the demand for mental training to a limited extent. The weekly lecture on the mechanic arts, illustrated by diagrams, and occasionally by models, and the use possibly of a limited library and a meagerly supplied reading-room, had their attractions and drew mechanics and their apprentices from the theatre and less profitable places of amusement, and afforded instruction in useful knowledge. But they are far from supplying the necessity for systematic instruction in the mechanical occupations of every-day life in the workshop and manufactory.

Art training in the State free schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut and some other States has been commenced, and pupils are making commendable progress in primary instruction in drawing and artistic training. Still the apprentice is rarely reached, and fails to find adequate provision in those helps that are essential to his advancement. Art education should commence with the children at school, but it must be continued through the years of apprenticeship. To do this successfully we believe that technological colleges, under proper management, offer the

best means to accomplish the object in view. Their advantages, briefly stated, will enable the reader to judge of their importance in relation to the art education necessary to skilled workmanship.

TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGES FOR ART TRAINING IN PRACTICAL MECHANICS.

While our public schools may be adapted to preliminary art training, the technological college is peculiarly fitted to meet the more advanced requirements of the artisan student. In it should be embraced all that is taught in the apprentice schools, schools of art and trade, and by popular lectures, museums, and technical universities, as they are now established in Europe. Its cost may be moderate, and can be met by contributions and donations, by appropriations from the general school fund, or through State legislature appropriations or a special county or school district tax, according to the choice of the people. The number of technological colleges in a State will be governed by population and the nature of the local industries; and the course of instruction in each college will be regulated by similar circumstances. Among the branches taught may be named—

1. *Drawing*.—A practical knowledge of drawing is essential in nearly every mechanical occupation. Charles B. Stetson, of Boston, in an admirable little work on "Technical Education," says:

"Almost everything that is well made now is made from a drawing. In the construction of buildings, ships, machinery, bridges, fortifications, nothing is done without drawings. It is not enough that there be draughtsmen to make the drawings: the workmen who are to construct the objects required should be able, without help, to interpret the drawings given for their guidance. This they cannot do without instruction that acquaints them with the principles on which the drawings are made and so trains the imagination as to enable it to form from the given lines a vivid mental picture of the object required. The workman who lacks this knowledge and this ability, as it is probable that nineteen-twentieths of American artisans now do, must work under the constant supervision of another, doing less and inferior work and receiving inferior wages. But it is also essential that the workman himself be able to make at least a rude working-drawing whenever, as frequently happens, an emergency requires it."

Pupils will receive special training in those

branches of drawing which relate more mediately to their chosen occupations.

2. *Lectures.*—The lecture-room will be a prominent feature in all technological colleges. The subjects of lectures should embrace the entire range of the mechanical arts. Lectures should be illustrated on the black board and by drawings, paintings, models and statuary.

3. *Models.*—Each college should have a model-room, the contents of which can be obtained from the model manufactories in the larger cities and from the Patent Office in Washington, either as donations or on loan, and duplicates can be produced by the pupils in the workshop attached to or connected with the college.

4. *Library.*—A library, not necessarily large, but carefully selected, will be attached to each college, containing scientific works and the best authors on naval, house, bridge, and road construction and the other branches of practical mechanics.

5. *Reading-Room.*—This should contain a selection of the best art magazines and scientific weekly papers of Europe and America, works on scientific discovery, &c. On the walls of the room should be suspended drawings and paintings on the different orders of architecture and the useful arts.

In the larger cities other branches of instruction may with great advantage be added, while in the smaller communities some of those enumerated can for a time be omitted, and subsequently supplied as the population and demand increase.

In what has been said reference has been made more especially to the art training of young men while passing through their apprenticeship; but the benefits of technological colleges are not for these alone. Adults who have gone through the period of apprenticeship will resort to the college evening classes, libraries, reading-rooms, model-rooms, and lectures for instruction. Massachusetts, awakened by the recent achievements in England and on the continent of Europe in the art training of mechanics, has taken hold of the work in earnest and with energy. The necessity for this step was severely felt, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, moved thereto by the persistent efforts

of a few cultured and public-spirited citizens, who realized the imperative need and demand for such training in the public schools, passed an act in 1870, making drawing one of the studies of the public schools and also making the establishment of free drawing classes for adults obligatory upon all towns and cities containing over ten thousand inhabitants. In pursuance of this law, Mr. Walter Smith, "art master, London, late head master of the Leeds School of Art and Science and Training-School for Art Teachers," was invited, both by the city of Boston and by the State of Massachusetts, to come from England and introduce the new study into the schools of the city and of the Commonwealth. Mr. Smith was highly recommended by the Kensington school authorities. He was appointed State director of art education, and has been unremitting in his efforts to introduce drawing into the public schools and to foster the establishment of classes for adults. Mr. Smith was also appointed general supervisor of art in the Boston schools.*

He published, in 1872, a large work upon art education, which is indispensable to a thorough investigation of the subject and will be found full of practical suggestions to those wishing to introduce the study into the schools or establish technological colleges in their respective communities. Massachusetts is making good progress in the work. Already twenty out of the twenty-three cities in the State containing each over ten thousand population have established industrial drawing classes, and now the forty-three cities of less population than ten thousand each are establishing similar schools. In many of these adults constitute a considerable proportion of the pupils. Professor Thompson, of Worcester, Massachusetts, says of the adult evening classes in Massachusetts:

"Two sorts of pupils have appeared in them. First, those who are disposed to undertake a general art training, so as to learn to draw from models free hand, without reference to any immediate practical benefit. In this class are teachers, engravers, architects, stone-cutters, and others. The main point in the training of such persons is discipline of the sense of form and proportion by carefully-studied exercises. The second class

* See page 17 of the little work by I. Edwards Clarke, already quoted.

consists of artisans of all sorts, mainly machinists and carpenters, who have no time, or think they have none, for sheer art training, but want a knowledge of instrumental drawing, which will be of immediate use in business. Statistics of the Worcester class of 1870 show some interesting results. The class mustered 145—136 men and 9 women. In respect of age there were one over 60, two between 50 and 60, four between 40 and 50, twenty-eight between 30 and 40, sixty-one between 20 and 30, and forty-nine under 20. In respect of occupation there were of machinists 42; carpenters 26; pattern-makers 7; architects 4; while the others represented thirty different trades and occupations. More than half the class walked two miles to get their lessons. In 1871 there were 250, representing as great a variety of age and occupation as the first class. Other towns in the State have a similar record.*

This shows remarkable interest, and what is being done in Massachusetts can be accomplished in all the other States if the opportunity is given.

Again, technological colleges are well adapted for the training of females in branches of profitable industry and useful occupations in life. Among these may be embraced drawing, for practical as well as ornamental purposes, decorative designs, designs for patterns for furniture, textile fabrics, oil-cloths, and paper-hangings, wood engraving, lithography, modeling, &c.

From the preceding remarks some conception of the objects, importance, and necessity of technological colleges may be obtained. The progress of our manufacturing industries demands a higher type of skilled labor, and art schools of this description are indispensable in nearly every community throughout the Union. The competition of the Old World is forcing itself into our markets, and we must be prepared to meet the case, or suffer in consequence of failure. The subject appeals to our foresight and public spirit, and if the response is equal to the emergency there need be no serious, certainly no insurmountable, barrier to the successful achievement of this advance in our industrial progress. All the European nations are waking up to the necessity of art training for mechanics, and in a comparison made between the United States and those Powers our nation is found at the foot of the list.

*Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1873, page 496.

In England the moment that this deficiency was realized, the most energetic steps were taken to remedy it, and so wisely taken that the exhibition of 1862 showed such wonderful improvement that a French commission was at once sent over to find out how it had been done; and the city of Paris, upon the report of the commission, began at once to reorganize the municipal art schools by adopting many of the features of the South Kensington Museum and Training School for Art Masters.*

Perhaps the most important retrospect with regard to French art education is that which reviews the effects upon them of the English International Exhibition of 1862. The enormous strides which art education had made in England since the previous great exhibition in 1851, and which was reflected in every object of industrial art displayed in the exhibition of 1862, set the sensitive French manufacturers at work inquiring the cause, fearful that their own industrial art supremacy was endangered. A commission which visited England and examined into the subject with characteristic sagacity, soon discovered the cause of improvement, and paid special attention to the administration of the South Kensington Museum and its Training School for Art Masters, as already stated.

Germany, moved by the same sentiment, has organized, since 1852, drawing schools of different degrees. In all the practical schools and in the polytechnic institutions, the teaching of drawing holds a prominent place.

Drawing is generally taught also in Switzerland, Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg.

Thus there have been established in the kingdom of Wurtemberg more than four hundred drawing schools; and this organization, which does not date back more than ten years, has already led to very decided improvements in the manufactures of the country.

In the United States Massachusetts has nobly taken the lead in this work. A few other States, through individual philanthropy and enterprise, have made a commencement. May we not hope that the Legislature of each State in the Union will take up the subject in a spirit of patriotic emulation, and with

*See "Circulars of Information of the U. S. Bureau of Education," No. 2, 1874.

a determination to succeed? We have our commercial colleges in all the larger cities of the Union, successfully established by individual enterprise, for the training of young men and women for the counting-room; we have our agricultural colleges in every State in the Union for the education of farmers, but we have few or no schools or colleges for the technical education of mechanics. In this we are at the foot of the list compared with other nations, and will remain so unless a general movement is made, through individual enterprise, assisted by State aid, to enter into successful competition with the world in the technic education of the industrial classes.

METHOD OF COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS.

The general introduction of art colleges, for the education of mechanics, will necessarily be a work of progress. The first step will be the introduction of drawing in our common schools. Already much has been accomplished in this direction in some sections of the country. Massachusetts, as we have shown, has so far been remarkably successful. In Connecticut, special attention is given to rudimental drawing in very many of the schools throughout the State. In the admirable school system of the city of Brooklyn, drawing classes are made a prominent feature, and the success of the experiment has been most remarkable.

The training of teachers for the work may be done in the State normal schools, or by competent instructors engaged specially for that purpose; and this accomplished, drawing classes in each school may be made to advance in this study with all the ease and success that attend the proper application to penmanship, arithmetic, and other branches of study.

Another step in the progress of the work will be in the establishment of evening schools for instruction in drawing, drafting, and other branches connected with mechanics. As is now the case in Worcester and other cities in Massachusetts, these schools would be attended by youths who have already commenced to acquire a knowledge of the trade they have selected as a business for life. They would also be patronized by practical mechanics, who, in their daily work, have felt the necessity of a better technical knowledge of their profession.

As another auxiliary to the object in view, mechanics' institutes might well be revived and utilized with very great success; and properly supplied with works on the various branches of mechanics, together with models, drawings, and evening lectures they could scarcely fail to be productive of most excellent results. We would recommend the organization of a mechanic's institute in every community, and half a dozen or more of them in each of the larger cities.

As these organizations increase and become prosperous, the way would be opened for the establishment of technological colleges, in which, as indicated in a previous part of this paper, all the branches would be taught that are essential to success in the various mechanical professions. In attending these colleges young men would, as a matter of course, be taught more thoroughly those branches which apply directly to the trade each has selected as his profession; and a college diploma, received on graduating, would be an unfailing guarantee, that, with a practical application of his education, reasonable industry, prudence, and economy, he would not only become an invaluable member of society, but his educated skill would be felt to be indispensable to the prosperity of the community in which he lived, and of which he could scarcely fail to become one of the most prosperous members.

The nations are vying with each other in the perfection of their mechanical products. Already they have discovered that the race is to the country that possesses the largest proportion of skilled labor among its artisans. Already the announcement has gone abroad that the United States is at the rear in the race, and that in many branches of industry we are forced to depend upon imported artisans to do our skilled work, in order to compete successfully with our products in the markets at home and abroad. This should not be so, and it can be avoided only by prompt and energetic efforts to educate our own mechanics up to the standard that will place them in the foreground, in the general and growing competition for educated and skillful workmen, in each and every branch of the broad field of mechanical industry.

GOVERNOR TILDEN ON THE LATE AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

In his inaugural address to the State Legislature of New York on the 5th of January, Governor Tilden made the following statements:

It has been proudly ascribed to the humanity of our age that, since the surrender at Appomattox, not one life has been sacrificed to the policy of the victorious Government. It is to be wished that we were equally free from the criticism that the retribution visited upon our former adversaries merely conforms to the higher modern estimate of property as compared with life; that, exercising a moral coercion, invigorated by a standing menace of military force, we have held those communities, bound in withes, to be plundered by rulers destitute of support in their public opinion, and without title to our own respect or trust.

Such has been our course, after and in spite of the fact that these our kindred in a common ancestry, a common heritage, and a common future, had joined at national conventions in the nomination of candidates and in the declaration of principles and purposes, which form an authentic acceptance of the results of the war, embodied in the last three amendments to the organic law of the Federal Union; and that they had by the suffrages of all their voters, at the last national election, completed the proof that now they only seek to share with us and to maintain the common rights of American local self-government, in a fraternal union, under the old flag, with "one constitution and one destiny."

There should be no misunderstanding as to this position of our Southern brethren or of any portion of our fellow-citizens. The questions settled by the war are never to be reopened.

The adoption of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution closed one great era in our politics. It marked the end forever of the system of human slavery, and of the struggles that grew out of that system. These amendments have been conclusively adopted, and they have been accepted in good faith by all political organizations and the people of all sections. They close the chapter; they are and must be final; all parties hereafter must accept and stand upon them, and henceforth our politics are to turn upon questions of the present and the future, not upon those of the settled and final past.

The first sentence in the quotation is strictly true, and the Governor would have been

justified in making the statement even broader and more emphatic. It is strictly within the bounds of truth to say that, neither during the four years of warfare, nor since the close of the strife up to the present date, has a single execution taken place under Federal authority on political grounds. While the French Government put its own subjects to death by the thousand during and since the French and German war, on purely political charges, no one here has been required to surrender his life for similar reasons. It is safe to say that both revolutionary and military history fail to record a similar example of such extraordinary leniency toward the enemy, and especially an aggressive and vanquished foe. It ill comports, therefore, with the actual facts for the Governor of a great State to advance a charge of "retribution visited upon our former enemies," and of "a moral coercion, invigorated by a standing menace of military force," by which, as he charges, "we have held those communities, bound in withes, to be plundered by rulers destitute of support in their public opinion, and without title to our own respect or trust." The spirit of leniency manifested by the Federal Government throughout the war and at the surrender at Appomattox has not been changed down to the present hour; and the false charges of retribution, menace, and coercion are but a new manifestation and expression from high quarters of a pretended sympathy, which has and is to-day doing much to prolong the rebellious opposition to authority and intensify the hatred and antagonism of Southern secessionists to the party in power.

And why does the Governor make the assertion that "the questions settled by the war are never to be reopened," while the daily occurrences in the South show conclusively that they have not, either in spirit or by their acts, accepted as a finality any single result of the war, except under the force of Federal power, exercised not as a menace, but to protect the lives and property of unprotected and inoffensive citizens?

Again, the Governor says: "The adoption of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth (?) amendments to the Federal Constitution closed one great era in our politics. It marked forever the end of the system of human slavery, and of the struggles that grew out of that system. *These amendments have been conclusively adopted, and they have been accepted in good faith by all political organizations and the people of all sections.*" This is extraordinary language to come from a high official to whom the facts must be accessible. He cannot plead ignorance of the true condition of affairs, for a portion of the daily press of his own city (New York) is emphatic on the amendments to the Federal Constitution and the status of the colored race. After the Governor's election, and but a few days before he prepared his inaugural, the New York *Day-Book*, in an editorial article on "The Future of the South," said: "The half million of lives sacrificed, the property destroyed and confiscated, the land desolated, the innumerable women and children reduced from comfort to absolute want, and above all, unparalleled and unapproachable in its sin as well as its horrors, *their degradation to a forced level, and often, indeed, to a kind of subordination to an approximately beastial species of human kind*, make up a combination of horrors, trials, and sufferings that not only have never been equaled in the past history of our race, but, in the whole mighty and unknown destinies of the future, it is scarcely possible that anything like a parallel will ever be found." How does the Governor's acceptance "in all sections" and "in good faith" tally with the record of the *Day-Book*, published not in a Southern State, but in the city of New York?

But this is not all. In the same article in the *Day-Book* the writer says:

"In 1860 there were in the South four million negroes, a widely different and subordinate species of men *who compared with any other four million of their kind were in a condition of such supreme blessedness that no words in our language can fully express it. The two million white people directly charged with their care and guidance were also unequalled in the master race for all those higher qualities of manhood and womanhood that are possible to our kind, and together the labor of the former and the statesmanship of the latter constituted the bone, the*

heart, the very sum and substance of American wealth, freedom and prosperity. But the people of Europe, ignorant of negroes, fancied them 'colored men,' people like themselves save in color, and therefore assumed that they were held in slavery, and this 'idea,' borrowed by our own 'educated classes' of the North, a vast 'public sentiment,' as the lunatics say, was propagated by the press, pulpit, and lecturers of every kind, until at last a great sectional party was organized to 'abolish' *the heart and center and very life of American prosperity*, which the wretched lunatics called *slavery.*"

We thought we had just read in the Governor's inaugural that "the questions settled by the war are never to be reopened," but as we are one of "the wretched lunatics" it may have been our misconception of the inaugural speech. We shall not attempt to debate the matter, but pass on to another burst of the *Day-Book*, in which the writer soars to a higher level. Here it is:

"And now was seen the maddest thing of all. Instead of explaining this imaginary slavery—instead of saying, 'Oh, you foolish and benighted people, you mistake the condition; there are no colored men or beings like yourselves with black skins, but a widely different and subordinate species of men, with natures and wants so different that you can never amalgamate or mix your blood with them, and, therefore, the Almighty Creator has designed them for a different condition, to change which, or to attempt to change which, must, in the nature of things, ruin us all, North, South, and negroes in common.' Southern presses and pulpits, to a large extent, actually assented to the misconception and tomfoolery of the Northern people *in the abstract, forsooth!* A thousandth part of the money expended by the lunatics to propagate their tomfoolery, spent in spreading *Dr. Van Evrie's work on White Supremacy and Negro Subordination*, would have rendered Lincoln's election impossible; but alas! while the ablest legislators, soundest statesmen, and greatest soldiers the world ever saw, Southern men seem to have but little conception of the force of opinion which, whether true or false, governs and must govern in our times."

The charge that the Almighty has designed the colored race "for a different condition, to change which, or to attempt to change which, must, in the nature of things, ruin us all," is rather a queer kind of "acceptance in good faith." Yet the sentiment just quoted was written and printed in the metropolitan city of the Empire State, over which

Governor Tilden presides and exercises the highest State authority. Why does he not rather exercise his influence in a laudable effort to change these pernicious sentiments of his party than attempt to deny their existence, and thus encourage our wayward Southern States in their persistent opposition to the results of the war?

With another quotation for the entertainment of the Governor we shall close the *Day-Book* for the present. It claims that—

"Under the mark of a 'war for the Union,' not only is the South ruined for the time being, but at last that ruin recoils on the North, and the whole Northern people are crying out in their agony: 'What shall we do to be saved?' or in other words: 'How shall we restore the lost prosperity of the country?' Now comes the hour of salvation to the outraged and impoverished South, not for vengeance or punishment of their oppressors, but for restoring their own prosperity. *This is only possible by the restoration of White Supremacy as it is fashioned and fixed by the hand of God, and any wretched tomfoolery that dreams of prosperity on a Mongrel basis must be rejected with overwhelming disgust by the true men of the South.*"

Now, if these utterances are of daily occurrence in the Democratic press of the North, what may we not expect from their party and the Democratic papers of the South? The Democracy of the North, more than any other class in the Union, are responsible for the insubordination and distressed condition of the South, and the only way in which the friends of law and order can prevent this dangerous monster from tearing the Union to pieces is in keeping his claws closely clipped by wise Congressional enactments, laws faithfully executed, and a patriotic discharge of duty at the ballot-box.

LIBERTY NOT LICENTIOUSNESS.—The right of the minority to hold power, in defiance of the majority, may be liberty, as understood by the White Leaguers of Louisiana, but the American people do not so understand it. The liberty to shoot down a political opponent may be pleasing enough to those who enjoy it in the South, but in the North, where every man is free to hold and express his political sentiments, this view of liberty is not very acceptable. The right to seize a State Legislature may be considered an ex-

ercise of constitutional liberty, and an interference to prevent it an outrage on the dearest rights of a people; but fair-minded men, who have breathed the air of freedom from their infancy, refuse to acknowledge the right, or admit the outrage. Liberty is one thing, licentiousness quite another. An armed mob may presume on a license given by public sentiment, and commit crimes with impunity, but when it bases its actions on the reserved rights of a people, it goes a trifle further than honest, law-abiding citizens can follow. The United States Government owes a duty to its citizens. It is bound to protect them against domestic as well as foreign violence. If an armed organization seeks the overthrow of the recognized authorities of a State, and those authorities are unable to protect themselves against the smaller but stronger party, it is the duty of the Government to respond to a call for assistance as promptly as if a foreign foe had landed on the soil of a sister State. This is the theory and has been the practice of the Government. The minority must submit to the rule of the majority. Once break down this law on which our system rests and republicanism is gone forever. Shall this law be broken? is the question to be answered in the solution of our Louisiana complications.

TO BE TRUSTED.—The American people who gave Grant the command of a million men when the life of the nation was in danger are not afraid to trust him with a few thousand regular troops. The man who won the highest fame of citizenship at the head of the finest army of trained veterans the world ever saw is not likely to turn against the liberties of the country which he saved from rebellion. Grant is a true man; reliable, patriotic, faithful to every trust, and in the future, as in the past, will command the thanks of his countrymen, and the admiration of the world for his personal efforts to maintain the integrity of the Republic.

The value of the total exports of breadstuffs from the United States during the year ending June 30, 1873, amounted to \$83,633,815. Of this amount \$82,070,108 were for wheat and corn, or about 98 per cent. of the total exportation of breadstuffs abroad.

THE RECENT BURIAL OF THE REBEL DEAD.

The circumstance of the reinterment of the dead is not one which, in itself, bears any public or political significance, and it is only when special pains is taken to give it such a meaning that it becomes a subject of scrutiny and a theme for criticism. The recent war of the rebellion for the perpetuation of Southern slavery entailed, among other things, an immense loss of human life, and ridged the land in many a spot with all too many graves. The woes that follow in the train of war, the broken families, the shattered form of men, the desolate homes, the populous countries, the widowhood and orphanage. The secret nameless suffering which is thus inflicted, all conspire to soften the asperity of the conflict, and to dispose our nation to a kindred feeling, even toward those who have acted as enemies, and who in the interest of oppression, set on by the demon of madness, have attempted to destroy a nation's life. But when those who have for such a cause compelled a resort to arms, and, after a long and bloody struggle, have in the righteous providence of God been vanquished by superior force and made to desist from the work of slaughter, forgetful of the ruin they have caused, and of the clemency which receives them to all the rights and immunities of the most favored citizenship, seize upon an occasion of sepulture to revive the spirit of rebellion, to fan anew the hostile flame, to boast of the crime they have committed, to glorify the deeds of their armies, to charge the whole blame of the strife on the Government and people they have assailed, and to flaunt their mischievous doctrines in the very face of the civil powers, and under the very dome of the country's Capitol, it is a phase of human history that may well arrest the attention of every loyal and patriotic citizen, and inspire with indignation every right-thinking mind.

Such an instance has recently occurred at Sligo, not far from the boundary of the District of Columbia, where, during the ceremonies of the burial of the bones of those who had fought in the Southern rebel ranks,

among other features of the day, a bishop of the Southern Episcopal Church delivered a poem, and a surgeon of the rebel army pronounced an oration in eulogy of the Southern cause and of those who fought in its support—both the living and the dead. The sentiments announced by the rebel orator were by far the most recalcitrant and obnoxious of anything which has been uttered in a formal public manner within the vicinage of the capital since the days of the farewell speeches of the retiring Senators and Representatives preliminary to the strife of arms. They evince the same spirit of infatuation which, blind to the claims of the oppressed, and heedless of the tokens of Providence, first plunged the nation into civil war, and then brought upon the seceding States a sure and swift destruction. Such sentiments at this late day are really shocking to the moral sense of the nation, and show, beyond all question, that those who still cherish them have been taught nothing by the course of events; that they utterly fail to comprehend the designs of history in human affairs, and that a profound unbelief in the improvement of the lower classes has an undying hold upon their minds.

Such, we should say, is the condition of the orator who gave voice to the Southern views and feelings on the late occasion. We need not reiterate his language. But, that it may be seen how such discourses fall upon the ears of Union men, and to mark all such performances with the reprehension they deserve, we suggest the following points for the serious reflection of all who are concerned in the common welfare and future welfare of our Republic:

1. In the first place, it is an insult to the patriotic and Union-loving people of this country. It is not only a violation of all comity and good neighborhood, of all fitness of things, and all good faith in Southern professions toward the Government, but it is audaciously heaping indignity and reproach upon the name of the living and the memory of the dead, who struggled to pre-

vent the calamity of a divided country, and to secure the blessings of impartial freedom to all men. If such a spirit is to prevail among the Southern people for generations to come, what hope can there be of a true and lasting peace?

2. It is an exhibition of rebel ingratitude most unbecoming those who, by an act of amnesty, have been restored to the franchises they had completely forfeited, and which might have been justly withheld from them during the remainder of their natural lives. They are in a double sense the beneficiaries of the nation. Their privileges and immunities are conferred by acts of a magnanimous Government which they strove to destroy. It is not well for them to forget the hole of the pit from which they have been dug. It is not well for them to undertake to sit in judgment on the people by whose sacrifices and heroism the country has been preserved, and to whose forbearance everything they possess to-day is due. The next time they try the bloody experiment there may be a just indignation which will not relent. There are many who feel, even now, that in the clemency of the nation toward the Southern rebels a vast mistake has been perpetrated.

3. It is a proof of judicial blindness in Southern men which promises no good to their future fortunes. It is not possible for them to secure any prominent advantage to themselves or to their section by cherishing the animosities and hatreds so unhappily manifest in such addresses as that to which we have alluded. If this is a specimen of the better informed and more intelligent classes of the South they may rest assured that it will work no good to them or to their children. The Union and liberty-loving people of this country are not in a temper to be badgered by such exhibitions of the old rebel animus. Sad enough was the occasion, and sadder still was the development of the recent civil war as a reflection on Republican institutions before the world. The work of reconstruction has been gigantic. Much of it, we must confess, has been most bunglingly managed. The most serious evils have grown out of the conditions entailed upon the country by this resort to

arms. But, if there is now shown a disposition to perpetuate the spirit and glorify the achievements of secession, who can predict the end of the miseries and disorders yet in reserve for the nation? We shall be compelled even yet to say with the illustrious Jackson, after his triumph over nullification, "The serpent of disunion is only scorched, not killed!"

These are signals which may well fill the patriot with alarm. Can it be that the fires of rebellion are still smouldering only to break out afresh on the very next occasion, and in one wide-spread conflagration devastate what yet remains of the legacy received from the fathers? Let us take the timely warning, and, both in the North and the South, in the East and the West, let us strive to forget the past, and address ourselves to the demands and developments of the future. Let us cherish a spirit of brotherhood; let us foster unity, order, and contentment, and let the only rivalry be that of noble natures, vying with each other to see that no detriment comes to the Republic.

IF IT HAD BEEN.—If a thousand citizens had been killed in New Orleans on the 4th of January, and a bloody riot quelled by United States troops, the opponents of the Administration might have found occasion to commend the interference of Federal troops. But the prevention of riot and bloodshed by the prompt action of a United States officer, under the direction of the Governor of the State, is made the pretext to attack a gallant soldier and the Administration which sustains him. We favor law and order; the preservation of peace; the right of the majority to govern; the redress of all wrongs complained of at the ballot-box; the protection of citizens in the South as well as in the North. The Government's policy in Louisiana means this, and nothing more. This it will secure to every law-abiding citizen of that State, despite the Democratic clamor to the contrary.

At New Orleans the total value of exports for the year ending June 30, 1872, amounted to \$89,501,149, of which cotton constituted \$82,121,910, and the value of grain exported amounted to only \$1,212,133.

JACKSON AND GRANT.

The recent fierce and uncalled-for attacks on President Grant bear a striking resemblance to those made on President Jackson during the nullification troubles in South Carolina and his conflict with the United States Bank, especially those attacks which followed the removal of the deposits. Then, as now, the opposition to the Administration was bitter in the extreme, and throughout the country the President was denounced by his opponents as a tyrant seeking to perpetuate his power by usurpation and despotism. Then, as now, mass meetings were held in the large cities, protesting against his acts and denouncing him for the exercise of unconstitutional authority. Then, as now, he was arraigned as a second Cæsar, and Roman history was ransacked for exact parallels to his tyrannical conduct.

Then, as now, the military skeleton was held up by weak-kneed Representatives and Senators, and the country treated to finely-executed word paintings of a free people under the iron heel of military despotism.

Therefore these attacks on the President of the nation are not heard for the first time in our history, for those made on Andrew Jackson were even more bitter than those made on President Grant. But there is this slight difference between the Presidential arraignment of 1875 and that of 1833. The party that now pretends to arraign President Grant for a usurpation of power, warmly defended President Jackson from a similar charge.

The American people sustained Jackson in his firm policy, and we have an abiding faith that they will as promptly sustain Grant in his. The nation saw that Jackson had the welfare of the Republic at heart, and that all his actions were based on a desire to promote its prosperity, and it stood by him in the execution of his policy. So to-day the nation sees in every act of President Grant an unselfish patriotism, a desire to promote the general welfare of all the States, by securing within each protection of life, liberty, and property. Now, as in the days of Jackson, the American people are too in-

telligent to believe that the road to despotism leads through the gateway of peace and security.

In looking over some of the speeches delivered in the Senate in 1833, we find many that read as if they were written by the Democratic opponents of Grant, instead of the Whig opponents of Jackson. Henry Clay was a leader of the opposition at that time, and the first sentence of his speech against President Jackson's policy was—

"We are in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending toward a total change of the pure republican character of the Government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man."

This extract was the key-note of the whole speech. Mr. Clay charged President Jackson with the usurpation of powers that belonged to Congress, and with an open violation of the Constitution. He said, in the course of his speech:

"The judiciary has not been exempted from the prevailing rage for innovation. Decisions of the tribunals, deliberately pronounced, have been contemptuously disregarded, and the sanctity of numerous treaties openly violated." * * * "By the 3d of March, 1837, if the progress of innovation continues, there will be scarcely a vestige remaining of the Government and its policy, as they existed prior to the 3d of March, 1829. In a term of years a little more than equal to that which was necessary to establish our liberties, the Government will have been transformed into an elective monarchy—the worst of all forms of government." * * *

"Thank God we are yet free; and, if we put on the chains which are forging for us, it will be because we deserve to wear them. We should never despair of the Republic. If our ancestors had been capable of surrendering themselves to such ignoble sentiments our independence and our liberties would never have been achieved. The winter of 1776-'77 was one of the gloomiest periods of our Revolution; but on this day, fifty-seven years ago, the Father of his Country achieved a glorious victory, which diffused joy, and gladness, and animation throughout the States. Let us cherish the hope that, since he has gone from among us, Providence, in the dispensation of His mercies, has near at hand, in reserve for us, though yet unseen by us, some sure and happy deliverance from all impending dangers."

* * * * *

"It is a question of all time, for posterity as well as us—of constitutional government or monarchy—of liberty or slavery."

* * * * *

"The real inquiry is, shall all the barriers which have been erected by the caution and wisdom of our ancestors for the preservation of civil liberty be prostrated and trodden under foot, and the sword and the purse be at once united in the hands of one man? Shall the power of Congress over the Treasury of the United States, hitherto never contested, be wrested from its possession, and be henceforward wielded by the Chief Magistrate? Entertaining these views of the magnitude of the question before us, I shall not, at least to-day, examine the reasons which the President has assigned for his act. If he has no power to perform it, no reasons, however cogent, can justify the deed. None can sanctify an illegal or unconstitutional act."

* * * "What security have the people against the lawless conduct of any President? Where is the boundary to the tremendous power which he has assumed? Sir, every barrier around the public treasury is broken down and annihilated. The measure adopted by the President is without precedent. I beg pardon—there is one; but we must go down for it to the commencement of the Christian era. It will be recollected by those who are conversant with Roman history that, after Pompey was compelled to retire to Brundisium, Caesar, who had been anxious to give him battle, returned to Rome, 'having reduced Italy,' says the venerable biographer, 'in sixty' (the exact period between the day of the removal of the deposits and that of the commencement of the present session of Congress, without the usual allowance of any days of grace,) in sixty days without bloodshed."

The biographer proceeds:

"Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many Senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, (as the President addressed his late Secretary of the Treasury) and desired them to send deputies to Pompey with an offer of honorable terms of peace, &c. As Metellus, the Tribune, opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and cited some laws against it, (such, sir, I suppose, as I have endeavored to cite on this occasion,) Caesar said: 'Arms and laws do not flourish together; if you are not pleased with what I am about you have only to withdraw. (Leave the office, Mr. Duane!') War, indeed, will not tolerate much liberty of speech. When I say this I am renouncing my own right; for you, and all those whom I have found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal.' Having said this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and, as

the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus again opposed him, and gained credit from some for his firmness; but Caesar, with an elevated voice, threatened to put him to death if he gave him any more trouble. 'And you know very well, young man,' said he, 'that this is harder for me to say than to do.' Metellus, terrified by the menace, retired; and Caesar was afterward easily and readily supplied with everything necessary for that war."

* * * * *

"And now, Mr. President, what, under all these circumstances, is it our duty to do? Is there a Senator who can hesitate to affirm, in the language of the resolutions, that the President has assumed a dangerous power over the Treasury of the United States, not granted to him by the Constitution and the laws?"

* * * * *

"The eyes and the hopes of the American people are anxiously turned to Congress. They feel that they have been deceived and insulted; their confidence abused; their interests betrayed; and their liberties in danger. They see a rapid and alarming concentration of all power in one man's hands. They see that by the exercise of the positive authority of the Executive and his negative power exerted over Congress, the will of one man alone prevails and governs the Republic."

* * * * *

"We behold the usual incidents of approaching tyranny. The land is filled with spies and informers, and detraction and denunciation are the orders of the day. People, especially official incumbents in this place, no longer dare speak in the fearless tones of manly freemen, but in the cautious whispers of trembling slaves. The premonitory symptoms of despotism are upon us, and if Congress do not apply an instantaneous and effective remedy, the fatal collapse will soon come, and we shall die—ignobly die—base, mean, and abject slaves, the scorn and contempt of mankind, unpitied, unwept, unmourned."

We have given these extracts from Mr. Clay's speech to show the character of the attacks on President Jackson. When an orator of Mr. Clay's reputation, noted for his courtesy in debate, could find it within him to denounce Jackson as a tyrant, it can readily be imagined what the style of the coarser sentiment of the opposition was during those exciting times.

In Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other large cities, open threats against the President were indulged in, and the same cry, as we now hear, of military

despotism went up from the ranks of the opposition. But Jackson was firm in the stand he had taken. He could not be coaxed nor bullied. He felt he was right in the position he had assumed and regarded with indifference the mighty combination against him. He knew his duty, and had the personal courage to perform it. Time has justified his foresight and political sagacity, as we firmly believe it will the foresight and sagacity of President Grant.

It would be well for the Democrats of the country to review the history of those times when their political leader was called upon to face as unjust attacks as are now being made by their party on the Chief Executive of the nation.

We call their attention to the closing words of their own beloved political idol, who has become in a large measure the pride of the nation, when he offered to the Senate of the United States his manly protest against the passage of the resolution condemning his acts as those of an usurper:

"In vain do I bear upon my person the enduring memories of that contest in which American liberty was purchased; in vain have I since periled property, fame, and life, in defense of the rights and privileges so dearly bought; in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt, if any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigor of manhood, could I find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty; and now, I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence the career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame, instead of inviting me to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honored and usurpers expiate their crimes. The only ambition I can feel is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship, to serve my fellow-men and live respected and honored in the history of my country."

These are the words of Jackson, but they might with justice be put in the mouth of Grant. They are golden words, and should be read by every man who feels inclined to denounce President Grant as Jackson was

denounced. Grant, like Jackson, is devoid of ambition. His past history shows it, his present utterances confirm it. He desires, as did Jackson, in the words quoted, to serve his fellow-men and live respected and honored in the history of his country.

After forty years of peaceful prosperity, our Government stands before the world stronger than ever—thanks to the wisdom and firmness of Jackson. We believe that forty years hence its condition will show the same proportionate growth, and that thousands who oppose the policy of the President to-day, will, if then living, unite in thanking him for his wisdom and unselfish patriotism.

A TIMELY WORD.—In a lecture recently delivered by W. H. Baldwin, president of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, upon "America's Definition of Nobility," he said:

"Young men, let it be your fixed determination to be fully entitled to the honor of being called a true citizen of this Republic. Never as much as to-day has the paramount need of education in personal love of country, based upon personal righteousness and purity of character, been so fully realized.

"Let me say to you—with an emphasis—take an active part in all affairs which affect the success and prosperity of this people. As you reach manhood it is your duty to regard sacredly the value of your ballot.

"See to it that you always attend upon meetings held to consider and bring forward names as candidates for the various public offices to be filled—national, State, county, city, town, or ward—giving your best thoughts and investigations to this all-important matter—which is your decided religious duty—aiming at all times to secure men of principle, and never men of mere policy, if devoid of principle, for any office in the gift of the people, from the highest to the lowest.

"Never through apathy, or for any weak excuse, neglect to cast your vote on days of election. Many a noble and highly-esteemed candidate for a public office has been defeated and his valuable services lost to his community through the indifference of those who, though friendly to him and desirous of his election, have neglected to cast their vote, and then when the results were known have blamed themselves and all others who, through this same indifference, were the cause of the publicly-regretted defeat.

"Young men, be sure to remember that there is, or may be, a wide difference between a man who takes a deep, lively interest in politics and one who is merely a politician."

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

The question to be settled in Louisiana is, shall the minority govern the majority? The minority are determined to rule; the majority protest against this determination as an invasion of their rights, and an act of revolution. The constituted authorities of the State are unable to protect the rights of the majority; the minority, having secret organizations, composed of men who have had experience in the field, and capable of holding the power usurped against double their numbers. The Governor of the State, in September last, represented these facts to the President, and called upon him, as provided for in the Constitution, for Federal protection. U. S. troops were promptly sent, and since the seizing of the State House, in September last, by and armed mob, have been on duty in New Orleans for the sole purpose of assisting the Executive of the State in maintaining his authority and preserving peace. The Shay rebellion in Massachusetts, the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island, and the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania, and the John Brown raid in Virginia, afford precedents for this prompt response on the part of the Federal authorities to the call of the chief Executive of a State. The protection tendered to the State of Louisiana had not been withdrawn at the time of the meeting of the Legislature, January 4. Rumors of an attempt by the minority to seize and hold the Legislature were rife weeks before its organization. The State authorities adopted certain precautions to prevent the attempt. Among these precautions were the presence of the United States troops, to aid the civil authorities, if necessary, in maintaining peace and preserving the integrity of the State Legislature.

The hour for organizing the Legislature had come. The roll, as held by the clerk authorized by the Constitution to act until the body was properly organized, showed fifty Democrats and fifty-two Republicans present. A motion was made by the Democrats, nominating Mayor Wiltz as temporary Speaker. Without waiting for other

nominations, or allowing the motion to be stated by the clerk, or the ayes and nays to be called, the motion was declared carried by the Democrats, and Mayor Wiltz, springing up, shoved the clerk aside, and declared himself the Speaker of the House. Here was a bold usurpation, an outrage on the rights of the majority of the citizens of Louisiana, an act of revolution, subversive of good government, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. The Republicans protested in vain; they left the State House in a body; they called upon the State authorities for the protection of their rights. In the meantime, the revolutionary body had declared five members who were defeated at the polls entitled to seats. Fearing outside interference, the usurping Speaker requested General De Trobriand to clear the lobby. The General asked the usurping Speaker if it was not possible to preserve the peace without appealing to him as a United States officer. He was told it was not possible, and on this assurance he proceeded to the lobby, and, with a few words, restored peace. This interference was in the interest of peace and order, and, as such, was appreciated by the illegal body—so much so, that the usurping Speaker, in the name of the General Assembly of Louisiana, thanked General De Trobriand for his prompt action in maintaining the peace. Soon after, the same General received orders to remove from the floor those not entitled to seats. He requested the five gentlemen, who had been seated without color of law, to withdraw from the Assembly. Their continued presence would have led to riot and bloodshed. The request was complied with, and the Legislature proceeded to properly organize under the laws of the State. No impartial mind can review the situation without according to the Federal authority the credit of preserving the peace of the city and the lives of its citizens on that eventful day. The interference of the police would have led to bloodshed; the United States troops would have been called into action to maintain the civil authorities, and no one

can tell what the consequences might have been. Scenes of riot, and plunder, and bloodshed were stayed by the presence of a single United States officer, clothed with the constitutional power to maintain peace, and sustained by the moral sentiment of the nation. This is the sum and substance of the outrage, out of which leading Democrats are trying to make political capital. An officer of the nation has prevented an illegal seizure of a State Legislature and the massacre of citizens, and the act is denounced as a tyrannical exercise of power by those who would have held the Administration responsible had a single life been lost through a failure of our troops to act, when called upon, in the interest of peace and order. The American people cannot be deceived by this senseless Democratic clamor. They will sustain the President in his policy of protection, and will do all within their power to secure to the majority in Louisiana the rights which belong to them under their State laws and the Constitution of the United States.

JACKSON AND SHERIDAN.—When General Jackson assumed the defense of New Orleans he put the city under martial law. Nor did he relax any of its severity after his great victory over the British. He received the news of a treaty of peace between the two countries, but for prudential reasons continued the exercise of martial law. He arrested a private citizen and held him under military authority. Judge Hall issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, but Jackson not only refused to recognize it, but sent a guard of soldiers to escort the Judge outside the city limits. A few days after civil authority was restored Judge Hall returned, and summoned General Jackson before him to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt, &c. First, in his arrest of a private citizen; second, in his refusal to recognize the writ issued; third, in his unlawful expulsion of the Judge. Jackson claimed that all his acts were founded on public necessity. His defense was not sufficient for the Judge, who was trying his own case. He was fined \$1,000, which he promptly paid out of his own pocket. Years after the payment, the fine was remitted by Congress on the ground

that General Jackson acted in the interest of the public good and for the public safety. The Democrats, who now denounce General Sheridan for doing less than Jackson did, should remember that every stone cast at him is one thrown at the hero of New Orleans, one of the patron saints of Democracy. Sheridan, like Jackson, has the firmness to do his duty, and the enemies of law and order in Louisiana would do well to recognize this trait in his character before they feel its hand.

POOR CÆSAR.—The country has been treated with enough Democratic rhetoric to last it a half century at least. We have had Cæsar on horseback, and Cæsar on foot; Cæsar walking in every State Legislature with a drawn sword, and standing guard at the door of every State House. We have had finely-drawn pictures of Cæsar drunk, and Cæsar sober; Cæsar forging chains to enslave the American people, and Cæsar putting them on with his own hands. We have had Cæsar brought into the Senate with his rattling spurs and clanking saber, and driving from that high body the last vestige of our national liberty. In fact, we have had Cæsar served up in so many styles that, like the overtasked epicure, we are about sick of Cæsar. Will not Cæsar's friends give us a change? Call up the ghost of Alexander, or Cromwell, or Napoleon, or any first-class military functionary, and give the bones of poor Cæsar a little rest. If his bones can stand the test, our patience cannot. We are about to renounce Roman history forever if this Cæsar business is not stopped. If the New York *Herald* has secured a copy-right for this sensational parade of a very respectable old Roman, we sincerely trust that it will prosecute every speaker and every paper that copies its antiquated thunder without giving it due credit.

DURING the year 1872 the total quantity of grain received at New York from the West was 86,032,450 bushels; at Philadelphia, 14,317,584 bushels; at Boston, 12,241,145 bushels; at Baltimore, 9,590,399 bushels; at Portland, 3,741,413 bushels, making a total received at the five cities mentioned of 125,922,991 bushels.

SHERIDAN IN LOUISIANA—OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Evidently there is to be no peace and prosperity in Louisiana as long as the oath-bound White Leagues exist in defiance of law and a menace to civil authority.—*Alabama State Journal*.

Now, in our opinion, Sheridan is the very man for the place and the times. President Grant knows his man, and is fully aware that he can depend upon him in an emergency.—*Greensboro (N. C.) New North State*.

The situation in Louisiana is essentially revolutionary, and the only way out of the whole difficulty lies through the establishment and reign of a military government. All the indications are that it will come to that anyhow.—*New York Graphic*.

Phil. Sheridan is of the decided opinion that a sufficient number of murders have already been committed in the South. The way to stop them, he thinks, is to stop them. The Southern blood-hounds understand what he means.—*Council Bluffs Nonpareil*.

We are confident that the country will soon be satisfied that General Sheridan, in his present command, is the right man in the right place, and that the Southern people will soon find that, if he is strict in carrying out orders, he is also just.—*Louisville Commercial*.

These are the facts as they stand in the history of this eventful week. Those who do not understand them fail, also, to comprehend the dire results which would attend any other action than that taken by the Administration at Washington.—*Newark Advertiser*.

The Democrats had previously determined to play this desperate and dangerous game, staking all upon the result. They played it, and lost. Now, as a trick to gain sympathy, they whine that they are martyrs to military despotism. Faugh!—*Pittsburg Commercial*.

The common sense way to look at this affair is to see that Kellogg is *de facto* Governor, and that if he is not Governor *de jure* that is a question for Congress, and not the President, to decide. It is no part of the President's function to go behind the returns and decide between two contestants.—*Newark Advertiser*.

The action of the Governor in this case is not simply justifiable—it was demanded by the circumstances. Even if the Democrats who forced their way into the House are legally elected, their names were not enrolled, and they had no right to resort to violence and force to secure their rights.—*Boston Traveler*.

The attempt of the Democracy to seat their speaker by revolution was a crime for which there was neither palliation nor excuse. It was an attempt to set aside the law. It was, therefore, an outrage for which no excuse can be accepted. And this outrage is the real cause of all the trouble that followed.—*Alabama State Journal*.

The attempt, therefore, to declare elected five persons whose claims had been rejected by the board, without the slightest pretense of inquiry as to the validity of their election, and before a permanent organization had been effected, can only be regarded as revolutionary. Governor Kellogg was fully justified in calling upon the military to frustrate it.—*Troy Times*.

The question of the organization of the Legislature of Louisiana rests upon the conduct of the Returning Board and the finality of its action. If there is no appeal from its act—if its decision is final and complete—the Conservatives have not a legal majority in the House, and could not organize it except by some trick or strategy.—*Cincinnati Commercial*.

In this emergency the aid of the Federal Government was called in to oust the illegally seated Conservatives, when the whole body of the latter adjourned, and the Republicans proceeded with their organization. The fact that General Sheridan has felt it his duty to assume command in Louisiana is strong evidence of the high-handed acts of the White Leaguers and their supporters.—*Pittsburg Telegraph*.

The President could not permit lawlessness, and although he, in common with many Republicans, may have doubts in regard to the validity of that government, the trouble has been that the other side has constantly succeeded in placing itself in an illegal and even a treasonable attitude, making the support of the *de facto* government an absolute necessity of the case.—*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*.

Enough has occurred in connection with the legislative organization at New Orleans to render it entirely certain that the rumors prevalent of the purpose of the White League to capture that body were entirely reliable. The Conservatives did manage to seize the organization of the lower House, although the Republicans secured the Senate. It was a piece of brigandage performed with seeming politeness.—*Pittsburg Gazette*.

And now let Congress and President Grant do their duty. The day for temporizing has gone by. Let the armed White Leaguers

who for years have been terrorizing the peaceable men of the South, be declared *banditti*. Let them be tried by military commission, and the assurance Lieutenant General Sheridan gives that "no further action need be taken except that which would devolve upon him," will no doubt be made good.—*Reading Times*.

General Sheridan sent a dispatch to the Secretary of War yesterday, which we publish this morning, and which may cause people to open their eyes a little. He shows himself, as we said the other day, the man for the place and the occasion. While week-kneed politicians are deprecating his course he is attending to the business which took him to New Orleans, and is doing it thoroughly.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

Whatever may be said against General Sheridan by the enemies of the United States, the banditti, they must acknowledge that he deals squarely, makes public what he says, and stands by it. He does not command in the rear by cipher dispatches, but is open and frank at the head of the column. He only wants peace assured forever here, and it is better that we should receive the olive branch from him than the saber.—*New Orleans Republican*.

We must say that, on this Louisiana question, and as compared with its responsibilities, Congress has thus far been more negligent and culpable than the President. Repeatedly he has called upon it for a solution, stating frankly the course he should feel obliged to take if Congress failed to act. He has been simply true to his word, and Congress is yet delinquent. Let it now address itself to this long-neglected duty, and meet the wishes of an anxious people.—*Boston Journal*.

Now the question arises, was it the duty of the other party quietly to submit to these proceedings simply because they, by chance, were successful? It might have been wiser to submit, but it was certainly their right, if not their duty, as sworn officers, to avail themselves of such means as they could command to vindicate their own and the right of their constituents to have a legal and fair organization of the body to which they were elected.—*Chattanooga Commercial*.

None can deny that the time for polite palaver has passed. The law must be obeyed in New Orleans, or it will be trampled under foot with its representatives. It must be remembered by our readers that all the dispatches coming from New Orleans are written by insurgent hands, and come from opposition sources. Only from such official papers as the telegram of General Sheridan can the exact truth be learned.—*New York Commercial Advertiser*.

They encouraged one of their number to take the presiding officer's chair without a

legal election. They seated members who were not duly declared elected, and finally they invited and compelled the military interference against themselves, which with better tactics they might have evoked in their favor. Once more they have put the Government in the ridiculous attitude of giving support to men whose cause is known to be bad, because their opponents have broken the laws.—*Boston Advertiser*.

The situation in the South is that of insurgency. Republicanism has no party to meet, but a sworn league of armed and bloodthirsty enemies, intent on securing what they lost by war. It is to the intentions of this band that we have closed our eyes too long already. Shall it triumph as it did before, through our inactivity and sense of security? It is time that Republicans should think over the situation. There is a pall upon the country, labeled "Democracy and Insurgency." See that the end is not like that of 1861.—*Lancaster Examiner*.

MANUFACTURED PUBLIC OPINION.—We have great respect for public opinion, and believe that in the long run it is about right, but we must be excused from accepting the Democratic clamor that has recently gone up over the policy of protection adopted in Louisiana as a genuine expression of public opinion. It comes about as near to it as the squeak of a penny trumpet does to a bugle blast. A call was made in New York city for a mass meeting to protest against the action of the Government. It was to be "a non-partisan expression of public opinion." The call was headed by such eminent patriots and "non-partisan" gentlemen as William H. Wickham, the Tammany Mayor of the city; August Belmont, of draft riot memory, whose good behavior General Butler requested in July, 1863, when negro orphan asylums were being burned by the opponents of Grant and Sheridan; Manton Marble, the editor of the *World*, a red-hot Tammany organ, whose pen has been busy for the past twenty years inciting and defending rebellion; Charles A. Dana, the editor of the *Sun*, who can boast of having written more libels on public men, and having said meaner things against the Government than any man, living or dead; Erastus Brooks, the editor of the *Express*, a sheet that has been loyal to the Southern Confederacy since the bombardment of Fort Sumter in 1861; John Kelly, the best man in

the crowd, but a died-in-the-wool Democrat, who runs the Tammany machine in the interest of Bourbon Democracy, and a host of others of less notoriety, but equally strong in their Democratic attachments. If this is a fair sample of the "non-partisan" call, we should like to read a partisan list. We failed to find the names of John Morrissey, Ben. Wood, Isaiah Rynders, and a few other "non-partisan" gentlemen, but we suppose they were absent on business, and on that account could not be reached. What a farce? A few broken-down political hacks, wrapping themselves in the American flag, and setting up their political venom as an expression of public opinion. We are not surprised to find Whitelaw Reid, the young man who was brought up under the eye of Horace Greeley, but who, since his advancement as editor of the *Tribune*, has forgotten what the good old man taught him, prominent in this "non-partisan call." But the call is in keeping with the meeting itself. Neither will have the slightest effect on public sentiment. The determination of the Government to secure peace and a republican form of government in Louisiana will not be shaken by the protests from men who once looked with indifference on the organized efforts to overthrow the Union.

We have faith in public opinion. We believe, on this question of protection to the loyal element of the South, its tone is unmistakable. It may not find expression in noisy mass meetings, but it will be heard through the columns of the loyal press, and in the deep resolves of the people to sustain the Government in its determination to make life and property as secure in Louisiana as it is to-day in Massachusetts. Public opinion is not yet ready to accept the liberty to plunder and murder without interference, as the liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. Liberty is not unbridled licentiousness, and the White League element of the South must understand this sooner or later. Republicanism means security to life and property everywhere—at home as well as abroad—and the silly twaddle about military despotism will not turn the American people aside in their determination to secure it, through State organization, if possible, but, if not

possible, then through Federal authority. A mistaken idea of the Government's power led to a rebellion which cost the nation, both North and South, over 600,000 lives, and at least \$5,000,000,000. Justice, and wisdom, and humanity, demand that no such fatal mistake shall again be made by those having charge of the Government. We cannot afford to allow a sickly sentimentalism to interfere with a high sense of public duty.

THE OLD STORY.—The late election in Louisiana was undoubtedly as honestly and fairly conducted as any ever held in that State. The Returning Board was composed of prominent men, of good character, and representing both parties. It was generally conceded on all sides that, whatever the result of the election should be, it would be accepted as a fair expression of the public will. In spite of Democratic intimidations in the country parishes, and the secret efforts of the White Leagues, the State has again gone Republican. Now we have the old story repeated: "Fraud at the polls! Fraud with the Returning Board! Fraud everywhere, except in the Democratic vote! The people will revolt against the verdict!" Thesooner this political nonsense is stopped the better. The people of Louisiana have declared in favor of the Republican party. The minority must submit to that decision, or leave the State. If a defeated party is to revolutionize a State, and appeal from the ballot to the bullet, we may as well bid good by to a republican form of government. Our advice to the Democrats of New Orleans is, to stop this suicidal policy of seeking to overthrow the constituted authorities. If they continue to practice it, their city will sink still deeper in trouble. If they wish to become prosperous, let them devote their time and energies to the work of recovering the internal commerce which they have lost. The freights of the West should be invited to their wharves. Half the time and capital thrown away in this foolish political crusade, applied to the commercial question, would restore New Orleans to her old-time position of one of the leading commercial cities on the continent.

It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the freights shipped eastward from Chicago by way of the lakes consists of breadstuffs

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE—REVENUES AND FINANCE.

Accompanying his approval of the new finance bill the President, on the 14th of January, sent the following message to the Senate:

To the Senate of the United States:

Senate bill No. 1044, "to provide for the resumption of specie payments," is before me, and this day receives my signature of approval. I venture upon this unusual method of conveying the notice of approval to the house in which the measure originated, because of its great importance to the country at large, and in order to suggest further legislation which seems to me essential to make this law effective.

It is a subject of congratulation that a measure has become law which fixes a date when specie resumption shall commence, and implies an obligation on the part of Congress, if in its power, to give such legislation as may prove necessary to redeem this promise. To this end I respectfully call your attention to a few suggestions.

First. The necessity for an increased revenue to carry out the obligation of adding to the sinking fund annually one per cent. of the public debt, amounting now to about thirty-four million dollars per annum, and to carry out the promises of this measure to redeem, under certain contingencies, eighty million of the present legal tenders, and, without contingency, the fractional currency now in circulation.

How to increase the surplus revenue is for Congress to devise, but I will venture to suggest that the duty on tea and coffee might be restored, without permanently enhancing the cost to the consumers, and that the ten per cent. horizontal reduction of the tariff on articles specified in the law of June 6, 1872, be repealed. The supply of tea and coffee already on hand in the United States would, in all probability be advanced in price by adopting this measure; but it is known that the adoption of free entry to those articles of necessity did not cheapen them, but merely added to the profits of the countries producing them, or of the middle-men in those countries who have the exclusive trade in them.

Second. The first section of the bill now under consideration provides that the fractional currency shall be redeemed in silver coin as rapidly as practicable. There is no provision preventing the fluctuation in the value of the paper currency. With gold at a premium of anything over ten per cent. above the currency in use, it is probably almost certain that silver would be bought up

for exportation as fast as it was put out, until change would become so scarce as to make the premium on it equal to the premium on gold, or sufficiently high to make it no longer profitable to buy for export; thereby causing a direct loss to the community at large, and great embarrassment to trade.

As the present law commands final resumption on the first day of January, 1879, and as the gold receipts by the Treasury are larger than the gold payments, and the currency receipts than the currency payments, thereby making monthly sales of gold necessary to meet current currency expenses, it occurs to me that these difficulties might be remedied by authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem legal-tender notes whenever presented in sums of not less than one hundred dollars and multiples thereof, at a premium for gold at ten per cent., less interest at the rate of two and one-half per cent. per annum from the first day of January, 1875, to the date of putting this law into operation, and diminishing this premium at the same rate until final resumption; changing the rate of premium demanded from time to time as the interest amounts to one-quarter of one per cent. I suggest this rate of interest because it would bring currency at a par with gold at the date fixed by law for final resumption. I suggest ten per cent. as the demand premium at the beginning, because I believe this rate would insure the retention of silver in the country for change.

The provisions of the third section of the act will prevent combinations being made to exhaust the Treasury of coin. With such a law it is presumable that no gold would be called for not required for legitimate business purposes. When large amounts of coin should be drawn from the Treasury, correspondingly large amounts of currency would be withdrawn from circulation, thus causing a sufficient stringency in currency to stop the outward flow of coin.

The advantages of a currency of a fixed, known value would also be reached. In my opinion, by the enactment of such law business and industries would revive, and the beginning of prosperity, on a firm basis, would be reached.

Other means of increasing revenue than those suggested should probably be devised, and also other legislation. In fact, to carry out the first section of the act, another mint becomes a necessity. With the present facilities for coinage it would take a period probably beyond that fixed by law for final specie resumption to coin the silver necessary to transact the business of the country.

There are now smelting furnaces for ex-

tracting the silver and gold from the ores brought from the mountain Territories, in Chicago, St. Louis, and Omaha—three in the former city; and, as much of the change required will be wanted in the Mississippi Valley States, and as the metals to be coined come from the west of those States, and as I understand the charges for transportation of bullion from either of the cities named to the Mint in Philadelphia or New York city amount to four dollars for each one thousand dollars' worth, with an equal expense for transportation back, it would seem a strong argument in favor of adopting one or more of these cities as the place or places for the establishment of new coining facilities.

I have ventured upon this subject with great diffidence, because it is so unusual to approve a measure—as I most heartily do this—even if no further legislation is attainable at this time, and to announce the fact by message. But I do so because I feel that it is a subject of such vital importance to the whole country that it should receive the attention of and be discussed by Congress and the people, through the press, and in every way, to the end that the best and most satisfactory course may be reached of executing what I deem most beneficial legislation on a most vital question to the interest and prosperity of the nation.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *January 14, 1875.*

STATE DEPARTMENT.

ENGLAND AT THE CENTENNIAL.

A copy of the following letter has been received at the State Department from Minister Schenck:

FOREIGN OFFICE,

LONDON, *December 3, 1874.*

SIR: With reference to my letter of 25th of August I have now the honor to inform you that her Majesty's Government accept with much pleasure the invitation of the United States to take part in the International Exhibition to be held at Philadelphia in 1876. I shall have the honor to acquaint you hereafter with the arrangements which will be made in order to carry this decision into effect. Her Majesty's Government trust that this exhibition will fully realize the objects which the Government of the United States and the promoters of the undertaking have in view, and they do not doubt that it will lead to the further development of the important commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

DERBY.

To GENERAL SCHENCK, &c.

Secretary Fish is also informed of the ac-

ceptance by letter from Sir Edward Thornton, who makes use of substantially the same expressions, and says he is instructed to convey the information to Secretary Fish, with a request that the President of the United States be made acquainted with the same.

TRADE-MARKS OF NON-RESIDENTS PROTECTED IN GERMANY.

The German Parliament has, at its present session, passed an act to protect trade-marks, which takes effect on the 1st of May, 1875. The Consul General of the United States at Berlin has sent to the Department of State a translation thereof, and the leading features of the act, as far as it relates to persons not residing in Germany, are as follows: "The trade-marks of non-resident traders are not entitled to protection in Germany unless they are registered in the Court of Commerce at Leipsic, and unless German trade-marks are in like manner protected in the country of the non-residents seeking protection in Germany. The non-resident is also required to file a declaration that he will submit to the jurisdiction of said Court of Commerce in all cases arising under the provisions of said acts, and to furnish proof that in his own country all the conditions are complied with under which the non-resident can claim protection for his trade-marks. The right of non-residents to use a trade-mark in Germany is limited to the same period of time as is allowed to them in their own country."

RECIPROCITY TREATY WITH HAWAII.

At a recent session of the Cabinet the proposed reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands was discussed at some length, and very favorably. The propositions made by the Hawaiian commissioners will, it is expected, be presented to the Senate at an early day in the form of a treaty. If adopted, the treaty will admit free of duty the following articles: All low grade sugars not above No. 18, molasses, tallow, coffee, hides, skins, metandor sirups of molasses, arrow root, pulu, tropical fruits, raw cotton, seeds, plants, trees, castor oil, sandal, koakow, and other ornamental woods. The total value of those articles imported into the United States from the Islands last year amounted to a million

and a quarter dollars. Under the present tariff coffee, hides, and skins are admitted free of duty. The Islands are to admit from the United States the following articles free of duty: Agricultural implements, lime, bricks, cement, lumber, stationery, cotton, iron, woolen and wooden manufactures, which include most all articles at present shipped to the Islands. The value of these articles shipped last year was \$1,000,000.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

INJUSTICE OF THE LAW FORBIDDING STAFF PROMOTION IN THREE OF THE ARMY CORPS—GENERAL SCHOFIELD URGES ITS REPEAL.

The Secretary of War has transmitted to the Senate a communication from Major General J. M. Schofield respecting the repeal of the law which forbids promotion in the staff of the army. The President, in his annual message of this year, recommended to Congress the passage of an act to repeal the law in question; and, as it is understood that bills have already been introduced in Congress opening appointments and promotions in the Adjutant General's and Pay departments, the Secretary recommends that a general measure be passed on the subject which shall include also the Quartermaster's Department.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION
OF THE PACIFIC,

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., Dec. 11, 1874.

DEAR SIR: I beg your favorable consideration of the question of inviting the attention of Congress to the effect of the act, now in operation nearly five years, forbidding promotion in the staff of the army. This act, stopping advancement in rank, has been repealed in five corps, yet still bears upon three—the Adjutant General's, the Paymaster's, and the Quartermaster's—directly affecting, at this time, twelve officers—three in the Adjutant General's Department, two in the Pay Department, and seven in the Quartermaster's Department. The act, as it stands to-day, has been reduced, you will observe, to nearly a personal measure.

I therefore solicit, Mr. Secretary, your intervention in behalf of the officers concerned, and of their corps and the military service in general, by recommending to Congress the repeal of an act which stops the advancement by promotion of officers who are, in consideration of their long and useful public services and excellent character, entitled to the reward the country holds out to military men, and which the few whose advancement has been so long stopped eminently deserve.

I beg to suggest the question of reorganizing the corps is quite different from, and should properly be considered independent of, the question of promotion. When Congress decides there are too many officers in any grade of a corps, and limits the number, the question of promotion in that corps is no longer an open one. But in the corps referred to the number of officers now is, and for years has been, below the organization allowed by law; nevertheless, the law of promotion is in force and exists, except for those who are entitled to its benefits in those corps. Pray, Mr. Secretary, use your influence to have repealed that provision of a law which, for a long time, has borne hardly upon some very talented and meritorious officers, the question of reorganizing the corps being left for the after consideration of Congress.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. M. SCHOFIELD, *Major General.*

Hon. SECRETARY OF WAR, *Washington, D. C.*

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The following letter was received by General Belknap:

Boston, January 9, 1875.

SIR: I intrude on your time to thank the Administration for the course taken in Louisiana. Sheridan's judgment is entirely correct. You must have, or can easily obtain, abundant evidence to sustain him. I trust the President will support him promptly and vigorously. Be sure the North will rally around Grant in such circumstances. I wish to express to him my gratitude as a citizen for the decision and sagacity in dealing with the White League. One firm, decisive hour will scatter the whole conspiracy. Left to itself it will keep the South in turmoil and land her in bankruptcy, if not in rebellion.

Respectfully, WENDELL PHILLIPS.

General BELKNAP, *Washington, D. C.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

VALUE OF FOREIGN COINS IN AMERICAN MONEY.

The following circular has been issued by the Treasury Department:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1875.

The first section of the act of March 3, 1873, provides "that the value of foreign coin, as expressed in the money account of the United States, shall be that of the pure metal of such coin of standard value," and that "the values of standard coins in circulation of the various nations of the world shall be estimated annually by the Director of the Mint, and be proclaimed on the 1st day of January by the Secretary of the Treasury." The estimate of values contained in the following table has been made by the Director of the Mint, and is hereby proclaimed in compliance with the above-stated provisions of law:

Table exhibiting the values in United States money of the pure gold or silver representing respectively the monetary units and standard coins of foreign countries.

Country.	Monetary unit.	Standard.	Value in United States money.	Standard coins.
Argentine Republic.	Peso fuerte.	Gold.	\$1.00	None.
Austria.	Florin.	Silver.	45.3	1 florin.
Belgium.	Frank.	Gold and silver.	19.3	5, 10 and 20 francs.
Bolivia.	Dollar.	Gold and silver.	96.5	Escudo, $\frac{1}{2}$ bolivar and bolivar.
Brazil.	Milreis of 1,000 reis.	Gold.	54.5	None.
British N. A. Possessions.	Dollar.	Gold.	1.01	
Bogota.	Peso.	Gold.	91.2	
Central America.	Dollar.	Silver.	91.8	Dollar.
Chili.	Peso.	Gold.	91.2	Dollar, doubloon and escudo.
Cuba.	Peso.	Gold.	92.5	10 and 20 crowns.
Denmark.	Crown.	Gold.	26.8	Dollar.
Ecuador.	Dollar.	Silver.	91.8	5, 10, 25 and 50 plaster.
Egypt.	Pound of 100 mihars.	Gold and silver.	4.97.4	5, 10 and 20 francs.
France.	Franc.	Gold and silver.	19.3	$\frac{1}{2}$ sovereign and sovereign.
Great Britain.	Pound Sterling.	Gold.	4.86.6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 drachmas.
Greece.	Drachma.	Gold.	13.3	5, 10 and 20 marks.
German Empire.	Mark.	Gold and silver.	25.8	
Jayui.	Dollar.	Silver.	45.2	
Japan.	Yen.	Gold.	43.7	1, 2, 5, 10 and 20 yen.
Rapce of 16 annas.		Silver.	43.6	
Italy.	Lira.	Gold and silver.	19.3	5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 lire.
Liberia.	Dollar.	Gold.	1.00	
Mexico.	Dollar.	Silver.	96.8	Peso or dol., 5, 10, 25 and 50 centavo.
Netherlands.	Florin.	Silver.	38.5	$\frac{1}{2}$ florin, flo. to ant. $2\frac{1}{2}$ florins.
Norway.	Crown.	Gold.	36.8	10 and 20 crowns.
Paraguay.	Peso.	Gold.	1.00	
Paru.	Dollar.	Silver.	91.8	
Porto Rico.	Peso.	Gold.	92.5	
Portugal.	Milrois of 1,000 reis.	Gold.	1.08.4	
Russia.	Rouble of 100 copecks.	Silver.	75.4	
Sanwich Islands.	Dollar.	Gold.	1.00	
Spain.	Peseta of 100 centims.	Gold and silver.	13.3	2, 5 and 10 milreis.
Sweden.	Crown.	Gold.	26.8	$\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 rouble.
Switzerland.	Franc.	Gold and silver.	19.3	5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 peso a-s.
Taipei.	Mahbub of 20 plasters.	Silver.	82.9	10 and 20 crowns.
Tunis.	Plaster of 16 carombs.	Gold.	11.8	5, 10 and 20 francs.
Turkey.	Plaster.	Silver.	64.3	
United States of C. to abla.	Peso.	Silver.	91.8	25, 50, 100, 250 and 500 plasters.
Uruguay.	Patacon.	Gold.	94.9	

B. H. BRISTON, Secretary of the Treasury.

THE PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The following is a recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of December, 1874:

Debt Bearing Interest in Com.

Bonds at 6 per cent.	\$1,157,085,100 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.	556,525,200 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,713,610,300 00

Debt Bearing Interest in Lawful Money.

Certificates of indebtedness at 4 per cent.	\$678,000 000
Navy pension fund, at 3 per cent.	14,000,000 00
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	\$14,678,000 00

Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity....	\$19,122,390 26
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Debt Bearing no Interest.

Old demand and legal-tender notes.	\$382,072,317 50
Certificates of deposit.	41,200,000 00
Fractional currency	46,390,598 33
Coin certificates.	23,540,600 00
	<hr/>
	\$493,203,515 83

Total debt.	\$2,240,614,206 09
Interest.	39,724,477 09

Total debt, principal and interest.	\$2,280,338,683 18
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Cash in the Treasury.

Coin.	\$82,587,499 94
Currency.	13,952,931 22
Special deposits held for redemption of certificates of deposit, as provided by law.	41,200,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$137,740,381 16

Debt, less cash in the Treasury, January 1, 1875.	\$2,143,608,302 02
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, December 1, 1874. ..	2,138,938,334 14

Increase of debt during the past month.	\$3,659,967 88
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Decrease of debt since June 30, 1874.	\$4,489,939 14
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Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, interest payable in lawful money: Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$1,938,705 36; in-

terest paid by the United States, \$24,325,396 98; interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c., \$5,601,838 12. Balance of interest paid by the United States, \$18,723,558 86.

THE CUSTOMS SERVICE—SMUGGLING.

The energetic efforts making by the customs office to suppress illicit traffic across the borders of the United States and Canada has aroused considerable opposition on the part of the importers who availed themselves of the late laxity of administration to evade the payment of duties. As smuggling had assumed such huge proportions it was deemed necessary to increase the number and efficiency of special agents in that locality, and the good results are shown by the detection of several firms involved in smuggling freight across from Canada. This, of course, has provoked the enmity of the importers in New York who are opposed to the restrictions laid upon the transportation of goods in bond, and as Mr. Blodgett is the officer under whom these regulations are enforced, the war against him personally is particularly severe. Allied to this interest are those attorneys who gain a livelihood by the prosecution of claims for a refund of duties, and whose business has been greatly curtailed by the new instructions relative to customs appeals. But notwithstanding the fight waged the same vigorous policy will be pursued until the various ways of defrauding the revenues are detected and prevented.

OFFICIAL MAILS AND TREASURE BURNED.

All the Department mails for the North of Thursday, January 7, as well as the currency in charge of Adams' express for the North, were burned in the railway collision and fire on the Baltimore and Potomac road of the same night. In consequence the mails had to be duplicated next day. This occasioned the performance of double duty by many of the officials, and made the day an exceedingly busy one. The treasure boxes, with their charred contents, were returned to the Department by the express, and the packages, having all been registered, were easily duplicated and forwarded to their destination without loss to anybody further than the cost of new notes. The Western and Northwestern mails, which go by the Balti-

more and Ohio railway, were unaffected by the accident.

THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

REDUCING EXPENSES.

The Postmaster General has reduced the number of employees in the railway mail service ten in the sixth (Chicago) division, and reductions will be made in all the divisions in the interest of economy. Incompetent men will be removed, but new appointments will not be made in all cases in their places.

RECIPROCAL POSTAL TREATY WITH THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The Postmaster General has concluded a reciprocal postal treaty with the Canadian Dominion, by which, substantially, we get the use of the Canadian Post Office as completely as though it was our own, they, of course, enjoying like privileges. Under the treaty letters and printed matter for any part of the Dominion will be sent under our stamps and rates, and while letters will begin to be carried thus only from the 1st of February, the carriage of newspapers will begin with the first day of the new year, when the new rate of two cents per pound for printed matter goes into effect in the United States. The Assistant Postmaster General of the Dominion came to Washington at the request of Mr. Jewell, and the postal treaty was negotiated here. It was laid before the Cabinet and at once approved, and has been ratified. It is estimated that under the new arrangement our Government will lose not more than \$20,000 per annum, while the convenience and business interests of the people will be greatly advanced.

POSTAGE STAMPS—HOW THEY ARE MADE AND DISTRIBUTED.

Every United States postage stamp in use is made in New York city. The contract was held by the American Bank Note Company from July 1, 1861, until the same day in 1873. That was for three terms of four years each. The Continental Bank Note Company at that time offering to do it for one-half the amount required by the other company, the contract was awarded to them. The office of the Continental is at the corner of Greenwich and Liberty streets, but as it was desirable to have the postage stamps made in a perfectly fire-proof building, the fifth story of

the Equitable Life Insurance building, on the corner of Broadway and Cedar street, was rented by the company for that purpose. The office here is for the use of Mr. Daniel M. Boyd, the Government agent, and Mr. Chas. F. Steele, the agent and superintendent appointed by the company.

Two passenger elevators run to the top of the building, and, upon leaving them, the only entrance to the postage stamp rooms is by means of a door which is constantly locked and guarded by a janitor, who always sits inside to answer the bell, which is just outside. On the right-hand side are the office and printing-room, and away to the left, at the front of the building, are the other rooms used in making the stamps.

In printing steel plates are used, on which two hundred stamps are engraved. Two men are kept hard at work covering them with the colored inks and passing them to a man and a girl, who are equally busy at printing them with large rolling hand-presses. Three of these little squads are employed all the time, although ten presses can be put into use in case of necessity. After the small sheets of paper upon which the two hundred stamps are engraved have dried sufficiently they are sent into another room and gummed. The gum used for this purpose is a peculiar composition, made of the powder of dried potatoes and other vegetables mixed with water, which is better than any other kind, for instance gum arabic, which cracks the paper badly. This paper is also of a peculiar texture, somewhat similar to that used for bank notes.

After having been again dried, this time on little racks, which are fanned by steam-power for about an hour, they are put between sheets of pasteboard and pressed in hydraulic presses, capable of applying a weight of 200 tons. The next thing is to cut the sheets in half; each sheet, of course, when cut, contains a hundred stamps. This is done by a girl with a large pair of shears, cutting by hand being preferred to that of machinery, which method would destroy too many stamps. They are then passed to two other squads, who, in as many operations, perforate the sheets between the stamps. Next they are pressed once more, and then

packed and labeled, and stowed away in another room, preparatory to being put in mail bags for dispatching to fulfill orders. If a single stamp is torn, or in any way mutilated, the whole sheet of 100 is burned. About 500,000 are burned every week from this cause. For the past twenty years not a single sheet has been lost, such care is taken in counting them. During the process of manufacturing the sheets are counted eleven times.

There are 36,000 post offices throughout the country, and they use in the course of one year 700,000,000 postage stamps. A week or two since 64,000,000 finished and 87,000,000 unfinished stamps were put into the safes. The New York post office alone uses 120,000,000 a year, somewhat over one-sixth of the whole number used, or equal to the amount required by 6,000 other offices. Four times a year the different post offices send an order for the number of stamps they expect to have occasion to use during the coming three months. Of course, if they run out during that time they are at liberty to send for more. The office in New York is supplied differently. Twice a month an order is sent for about 500,000 of various denominations. Three-cent stamps are, of course, in much greater demand than those of any other value. In answer to the orders the stamps are made and sent to the offices, and there counted immediately in the presence of a witness. An accompanying blank receipt is filled up and sent to the Third Assistant Postmaster at Washington, who has charge of this branch of the Post Office Department.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

ESTIMATES FOR GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS.

The Secretary of the Interior has sent to the House of Representatives a communication revising his estimates for geological surveys, withdrawing his estimate of \$100,000 in gross, and recommending the following: For the continuation of the geological and geographical surveys of the Territories of the United States, by F. V. Hayden, \$75,000; and by J. W. Powell, \$15,000, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, in all \$90,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

For the preparation and publication of the maps, charts, geological sections, and other engravings, necessary to illustrate the reports of the United States geological surveys of the Territories during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, \$35,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

THE COTTON CROP.

The cotton product of 1874, as estimated by the cotton growers in their returns to the Department of Agriculture, somewhat exceeds 3,500,000 bales. The yield per acre is reported less than in 1873. In most of the States the weather for ripening and gathering the top crop has been very favorable. The reports are nearly unanimous in stating that the proportion of lint to seed is large. The percentage of last year's aggregate of bales in the principal cotton States is as follows: Virginia, 89; North Carolina, 89; South Carolina, 92; Georgia, 93; Florida, 100; Alabama, 95; Mississippi, 90; Louisiana, 89; Texas, 90; Arkansas, 60; Tennessee, 57. This result corresponds very closely with the indications of the monthly statements of the condition made by the Department during the season, which have been printed, and show a larger crop than the reports of the cotton exchanges.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

INCREASING BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT—PROSPECTS OF ADDING TO THE NUMBER OF JUDGES.

The accumulation of business in the Supreme Court makes its reorganization a matter of pressing necessity. It has now nearly 700 cases on its docket, and, with the utmost and most laborious application of the judges, it can not get through with more than 250 or 300 in a year. The delay amounts in many cases to a denial of justice, and causes serious loss and great inconvenience to suitors. The President, in his recent message, suggests the formation of two new judicial circuits and the increase of the number of judges on the supreme bench from nine, their present number, to eleven. Apparently this would both expedite business and lighten the labors of the judges; but, in fact, it will do neither

appreciably. It is the practice in the Supreme Court that all the judges take up each case which comes before the court, and thus, while the present method continues, to increase the number of judges, though it would bring an additional force of knowledge and judgment to bear on each case, it is evident that business would be rather retarded than hastened. Under these circumstances the Senate Judiciary Committee may possibly conclude that it is necessary, by reason of the rapid growth of the country, to reorganize the court upon a different system. It has been suggested that the bench shall be increased to fifteen, or even to twenty-one members, and that it shall be divided into sections, to each of which would be assigned a certain class of business. A quorum may sit, and if the court numbered twenty-one judges seven might be constituted a quorum for business purposes, and the decision of a section of seven judges would receive the assent of all, as a matter of course.

If this were done one section would sit on admiralty and patent cases, another on common law and equity cases, and so on, the whole court, however, hearing and deciding cases involving constitutional questions. It has also been suggested that Congress might wisely direct that in a large class of cases the facts should be ascertained in the courts below, thus sparing the Supreme Bench the time now consumed in a rehearing of evidence already laboriously heard in the lower court. It is also suggested that the hearing of evidence in patent cases should be assigned to a special commission of experts or professional men, who could hear and sift the evidence and find the material facts in each case for the court.

Whatever may be determined on by Congress, it is certain that some change is necessary, both to prevent injurious delays in the administration of justice and to relieve the overworked members of the Supreme Bench.

ALABAMA CLAIMS COURT.

FIRST THREE DECISIONS RENDERED BY THE COURT.

James Hooper *vs.* The United States. Allowance on freight and primage, \$1,014 07; chronometer, \$250; bill of particulars,

\$1,916 52; amount of judgment, \$3,180 59; interest from July 10, 1864, to date of judgment, December 22, 1874, at four per cent., \$1,329 49.

Thomas J. Hooper *vs.* The United States. Allowance on bill of particulars, \$422 50; salary, at \$100 per month, for three months, \$300; amount of judgment, \$722 50; interest from July 1, 1864, to December 22, 1874, at four per cent., \$302 37.

William B. Hooper *vs.* The United States. Allowance on bill of particulars, \$845; salary for three months, at \$150 per month, \$450; amount of judgment, \$1,295; interest from July 10, 1864, to December 22, 1874, at four per cent., \$541 31.

CONGRESSIONAL.

RIGHT OF WAY THROUGH PUBLIC LANDS.

The bill which passed the House January 12 provides that the right of way through the public lands shall be granted to any road duly organized under State or Territorial law or act of Congress, to the extent of 100 feet on each side of the road; also the privilege to take from adjacent public lands material, earth, stone, and lumber necessary for the construction of the road; also ground for stations, not exceeding twenty acres for each station, to the extent of one station to each ten miles of road; the mode of taking private lands being left to be fixed by Territorial legislation. The right of way through any pass or canon is limited so as, first, not to interfere with any wagon road, and second, giving to any other railroad the right to pass through the same on the track of the first road, on paying an equitable share of the expense. A failure to construct a road through any section after the road has been selected and located, causes a forfeiture of any claim to the lands. The right of States hereafter formed, covering the lands donated by the bill, to regulate and limit charges for the transportation of freight and passengers, is conceded by the bill. The bill does not apply to lands within Indian reservations, without special authority from Congress, unless such right shall be provided by treaty stipulation or existing act of Congress. Congress reserves the right to amend or repeal the act.